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Elections and patterns of leadership in two Lanjia Saora villages of Guma Panchayat Samiti, Ganjam

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Introduction

The study reported in this paper was taken up in Ragedi and Tahajang villages of Guma Panchayat Samiti. They are medium sized villages predominantly inhabited by the Lanjia Saoras. Ragedi is one of the wards of Kalakota Grama Panchayat and Tahajang of Tarangada Grama Panchayat. The points of differences out number those of the similarities between these two villages.

The theme of the study in these two villages is related to the mode of election to the offices of Grama Panchayats and Panchayat Samiti and types of leadership which entered into the political arena of statutory local Government. The report also contains brief observations of election campaign and voting behaviour of the Saoras of Guma Block in general and of the study villages in particular during the last Lok Sabha election.

(Past Revenue Administration in Ganjam Maliahs)

When Ganjam was a part of Madras Presidency during British regime its highlands were divided into several hill tracts called Maliahs. The Maliahs were under the Divisional charge of the Principal, Senior and Special Assistant Agents and the Goomsur General Deputy Collector. The Maliahs which were under the Senior Assistant Agent consisted of Parlakimedi highlands with an area of 364 square miles and population of 52,309 according to the Census of 1891.

The Kimedi Maliahs (Parlakimedi, Pedda Kimedi and China Kimedi) were formerly ruled over by the chieftain of Parlakimedi. But a portion of these Maliahs was assigned to a younger branch of the ruling family in 1607. After about 169 years, that is, in 1776 this portion which was assigned to the younger branch of the Parlakimedi

chieftaincy was subdivided into two territories, one of which remained with the elder brother, whence the name Pedda Kimedi and the other portion fell to the share of the younger brother of the ruling family, whence the name Chinn Kimedi. During British rule Parlakimedi Zamindar and other Kimedi Zamindars held their respective Muttahs under Sanad on service tenure. As stipulated in the Sanad the Kimedi Zamindars used to pay Nazarana annually to the British Government.

The Muttahs which were under the chieftain of Parlakimedi were subdivided into 11 minor territories called muttahs. They were:—

1. Gumma and Gyba
2. Serango
3. Ajavaguda
4. Rayagada
5. Narayanapuram
6. Namanugada
7. Kamalasingi
8. Jirango
9. Gundahati
10. Kulpuram
11. Labanyagada

Each of these Muttahs was under a Muttah-head called by various names such as Bissoyi and Patra. The headquarters of each of the Bissoyis was situated in a strategic position in the Muttah and served as a fort. The Bissoyis were established in a species of feudal tenure by the Parlakimedi chieftain for keeping the inhabitants (which were almost entirely Saoras) of their respective Muttahs under control. The British authorities designated the Bissoyis as the "Wardens of the Marches".

Each Bissoyi had maintained a number of Huddadars who represented the rank and file of the feudal order. The Huddadars were classified into five hierarchical orders. In order of hierarchy they are :

1. Dandassena
2. Majhi
3. Dalapati
4. Pradhan; and
5. Dalei

To assist the Huddadars in their work the Bissoyi had appointed a number of Paiks or Pesentas who formed the militia of the feudal order. Each Huddadar was allotted seven to eight Paiks who were not classified into any hierarchical order. The functions of Bissoyi, Huddadar and Paik are stated below.

Bissoyi

As stated, Bissoyi was the administrative head of his Muttah. His main work was to collect land revenue and house tax from the Saoras inhabiting his Muttah. He was also in charge of developmental programmes such as construction of roads, and digging of tanks and irrigation channels. For example, the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah constructed the road from Parlakimedi town to Gumma village. Without Bissoyi's signature in the sale deeds no land transactions in the Muttah were valid. The Bissoyi was also responsible for settling inter and intra village disputes.

Huddadar

The work of Huddadar was to supervise the works of Paiks and to carry out Bissoyi's order. It was also his responsibility to look to the comforts of high-ranking persons and their entourage during their tour in his area.

and arrange supplies required in their camps and porters to carry their luggage from place to place. He was also responsible for their safety while on tour in his area. He supervised the timely collection of Tanning (land tax collected in the shape of kind), sistu (land tax in cash), and tarnia (house tax) from the ryots. In payment for the services rendered the Huddadar was allotted two or three villages and the entire amount of tanning, sistu and tarnia collected from these villages was his service charges. He also enjoyed a share from the Peseni collected by the Paiks from the ryots towards their own remuneration. Besides these payments the Huddadar was given some Inam lands by the Bissoyi and these land were tax free.

Paik

The Paiks were the militia-men of the Bissoyi who assigned them to the Huddadar to help them in land revenue collection from the ryots. He also allotted two or three villages to each Paik for his maintenance. Besides military services the Paiks also served as the messengers to the Huddadars. Whenever any village failed to pay the tanning, tarnia and sistu in time (usually payment of these dues was made by the ryots in December-January) the Paiks visited these villages which are in arrears and served notice of the Bissoyi on the defaulters and arranged quick collections of the dues from them. If the Bissoyi had any message to be communicated to the Huddadars he got it done through the Paiks.

For the services rendered to the Bissoyi and Huddadars the Paiks were paid in kind at the rate of 10 manas of grain yearly per household from the villages which were allotted to them. The Paiks themselves collected their dues called Peseni from the ryots of the villages which were assigned to

them. In addition to Peseni the Paiks held Inam lands which were given by the Bissoyi for the services they rendered to him.

Gomanga

The lowest position in the echelon of the feudal order was that of Gomanga who served as the head of the village. There was a Gomanga in each village and his duties were to collect tarnia, tanning and sistu from the ryots of his village. The Bissoyi fixed the amount of these dues to be paid by each village and the village Gomanga collected the same and paid to the Paik who was in charge of his village. The Gomanga was also responsible for deciding disputes and maintaining law and order in his village. If the dispute was of complicated nature beyond his control he referred it to the Bissoyi who settled it with the help of his courtiers at the headquarters. The Gomanga's duty in this respect was to escort the aggrieved parties to the Bissoyi's court and explain the dispute to the Bissoyi at the time of arbitration. If it was an inter village dispute the Gomangas of the disputed villages convened a common meeting and settled the matter in the presence of the elders of the disputed villages. Failing to adjudicate the case the Gomangas referred the matter to the Bissoyi whose decision was final.

Types of Revenue

As stated above there were mainly three types of revenue collected from the ryots. They were 1. Tanning, 2. Tarnia and 3. Sistu. The land revenue collected in the shape of paddy from the Soura villages was called Tanning. The land revenue and the house tax collected in cash from the non-tribal villages was called Sistu. The house tax collected in cash was locally called Tarnia. It means that Sistu consisted of

Tanning and Tarnia in cash. As exceptional cases some Saura villages paid Sista not Tanning to the Bissoyi. For example, the cluster of nine Saura villages included in Kalakota Ilaka (area) paid sista to the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah. Some of the non-tribal villages which paid Sista to the Bissoyi of gumma Muttah are Parida, Nilakanthapur, Adanguda, Rapangudi Laaha, Tamaranda which lie in the plains. Previously the Saura villages which were included in Kalakota Ilaka were paying Tanning of 100 gadas (12,000 kgs.) of paddy to the Bissoyi of Gumma Muttah. C. F. Mac Cartie, who was acting Principal Assistant Agent of Ganjam in 1881, felt that the amount of Tanning paid by the Sauras of Kalakota Ilaka was exorbitant. He reduced the amount and made it payable in cash at Rs. 450. Besides land revenue each household was liable to pay house tax of Rs. 1.50 per year. The Gomanga collected the house tax (harida) at the time of Dasahara and credited to the treasury of the Bissoyi.

Besides land revenue and house taxes the ryots of big Saura villages provided goat, honey, vegetables and pulses to the Bissoyi and his staff on festive occasions. They also supplied thatching grass or straw to the Bissoyi for thatching purposes. The Sauras at that time were subjected to Vetti or forced labour without payment. The Bissoyi and his staff of all categories such as Huddars and Paiks employed the Sauras as labourers in various agricultural operations and in domestic works such as thatching houses without paying any labour charge to them. However some food was provided to the labourers during work. The system of Tanning continued till the land revenue settlement was conducted in the Parakkhemundi Malahs by Shri Udayanath Patnaik who abolished it

and in its place introduced payment of revenue in cash at the rate of Rs. 1 per Putli of paddy paid as Tanning. The amount of land revenue was fixed on village basis and it was the responsibility of the Gomanga to settle the revenue on household basis and collect the same from each house hold timely and pay the revenue of the village to the Bissoyi.

The system of dal, that is, payment of mamool in kind such as vegetables, minor millets, cereals, honey, goat, etc., was abolished at the time of Udayanath Patnaik's settlement. What the ryots were liable to pay was only land revenue in cash at the rate settled by him village wise.

Peashkush

According to the terms and conditions laid down in the Sanad each Zamindar was allowed to collect a fixed amount of Peashkush from each of the Muttah-heads and to appoint, subject to the approval of the Divisional Officer, certain of the Muttah officials, all punishments, however, were in the hands of the Divisional Officer. No chieftain was allowed either to interfere between the Bissoys and their subordinates and ryots, or to rent out any Muttah to low country bidders and collect in caprice any mamool directly from the hill people. If any chieftain violated or challenged the legality of the Government orders and increased his Peashkush, his Agency Sanad was cancelled and the Muttahs which were under his control were attached and handed over to a new chieftain appointed by the Government. After Independence the Bissoyi of each Muttah paid the Peashkush to the Tahsildar and this practice continued till the abolition of all intermediary system including Muttah system in 1971.

ABOUT THE STUDY VILLAGES

1. Ragedi

Ragedi is situated 5 Kms. to the west of Gumma. A fair weather jeepable road constructed by the Kalakota Grama Panchayat connects the village with Gumma. The village lies by the side of a rivulet called Marandaguda which dries up entirely in summer season. Lacking a bridge over it, the village remains cut off from any vehicular traffic during rainy season when the rivulet is in spate.

There are 43 Saora households, whose primary source of livelihood is agriculture and wage earning. 31 households have land of their own. The holdings vary from half an acre to three acres. The remaining 12 households are landless. Both the categories of households practise shifting cultivation in the nearby hill slopes. About one fourth of the households have gone to Assam to work in tea gardens.

All the households have been converted to Christianity and most of them have well ventilated, spacious and substantial houses. The old pattern of houses which are single roomed small in size, low and without any window are conspicuous by their absence in the village. The village is far advanced in the locality in this respect and also in the matter of keeping the houses and the surrounding spotlessly clean. Every household has its garbage pit and the refuse from the house and the kitchen are dumped in it. It is a special feature of the village which is not noticed in any other Saora village in the vicinity.

The educational standard of the people of the village is as low as in any other Saora village. Out of 43 heads of households only two persons

have studied up to undergraduate and four persons are barely literate. People have now been conscious of the importance of education. There is a demand by the villagers for a primary school in the village. The nearest school which is located in Linga is at a distance of 2 kilometres from the village and apart from the distance which has to be covered by walking the rivulet Marandaguda which flows between these two villages has to be crossed. Going to the school in rainy season is entirely out of question.

There are two public institutions in the village. One is Mahila Samiti which was organised by the Gumma Tribal Development Block and the other is Church which is exclusively a people's work. Recently the people of the village have organised a youth club. It started functioning since 23-1-1977. In a public meeting held at the Church on the eve of the 23rd January 1977 the people unanimously selected Sadan Savar of 45 years old as President and Aransa Savar of 25 years old as Secretary of the Club. One of the important functions of the Club is to look to the sanitation of the village. Unlike other Saora villages which look very shabby Ragedi wears a very neat appearance. The people have formed a habit of using the refuse dump dug by the members of the Youth Club at the outskirts of the village. The people have altogether given up drinking and smoking. For many such reforms in the life of the Saoras the credit goes to the Youth Club. Ragedi is becoming an ideal Saora village in the area.

One can notice a modern outlook on life of the people of the village. It is more conspicuous in their religious beliefs and practices. This is how a change has come about in their religious life. About 30 years ago sa

important person of the village Dibasu Karji by name suffered from fever and his family members resorted to very expensive rituals for his recovery. But no ritual could save his life. The hereabout family not only had lost its leading member but also was drowned in debt which was incurred to meet the ritual expenses. This case was an eye opener to others who started questioning the religious methods of curing illness. It coincided with the time when the christianity was gaining ground in the locality and many neighbouring villages had given up divination and taken to scientific practices of curing illness. The successful stories narrated by the preachers of christianity were very much convincing to the people of the village. The ward member and the Karji of the village were the first to adopt christianity and allopathic curative practices. Subsequently all others of the village followed suit. Under the leadership of the pioneers a Church building was built in the village in 1955 and it has now become the central place of all new ideas and activities.

2. Tahajang

Tahajang is situated by the side of the road running from Parikhmedti town to Gumma. It is at a distance of 8 Kilometres from Parikhmedti and 19 Kilometres from Gumma. The bus plying on Parikhmedti-Gumma road passes through the village. The village is included in the Teranajada Grama Panchayat.

Tahajang has three hamlets: (1) Tahajang proper, (2) Majhi Tahajang which is situated in the centre of the cluster of the hamlets and (3) lower Tahajang. The village consists of 47 Lanjia Saora households all converted to christianity. There is a small stream flowing by the side of the village. Except in the rainy season

when the stream contains some water it remains dry in other seasons.

The settlement pattern and houses of Tahajang are not very much different from those of any ordinary Lanjia Saora villages. Single roomed low huts without windows which are typical of Lanjia Saora houses dominate the village scene in Tahajang.

Out of 47 households 20 households are landless and the remaining 27 households own land varying from half an acre to 5 acres with the exception of the present ward member who owns 10 acres of land. The landless and the land holders alike carry on shifting cultivation in the nearby hills and grow a mixed crop of minor millets, pulses and oilseeds—such as Janna, Rangu, Sunn, Ghantia, Kandula and Rad. Those who have land in the plains grow Mandia, Kutihi, Biri, Sunn and Ganga in higher elevations (Padar land) and paddy in the low lying lands (Bila lands). The staple food of the people is ragi.

The people collect minor forest produce such as Karanj seeds, Mahua, and Grasses used for making brooms and sell them to the local merchants at a nominal price. The collections of mango, green leaves and tubers are exclusively meant for home consumption. The juice from the Salap trees supplies their alcoholic drink and the turmeric from their swiddens is their principal cash crop.

There is an Upper Primary School (up to Class V) in the village. Neither the teachers nor the students are regular in their attendance. As a result the School remains closed for most of the days. No one in the village has studied up to Upper Primary standard and most of the people are illiterate.

There is a Mahila Samiti in the village organized by the Gumma Tribal Development Block. It is as useless as the School. No woman has derived any benefit from the Samiti ever since it was established in the village.

The church which is built by the villagers themselves is not as active as its counterpart in Ragedi in brining about change in the traditional style of life. A mid-wife is present in the village. She is maintained by the christian mission. But her impact on the life of the people is negligible. People adopted christianity under the spell of its mystic power of alleviating human suffering and healing illness. This is how christianity was appealing to the people of the village. Suku Savar of the village suffered from some mental illness some years back and became mad. His family members worshipped the deities and sacrificed fowls, goats and pigs and performed all kinds of rituals prescribed in their traditional religious system for his quick recovery. But no divination was of any help to Suku Savar. In such a crisis some christian Snoras of neighbouring villages suggested to the family members of Suku Savar to convert him to christianity and pray Jesus Christ for his recovery. His family members did so and in addition applied scientific remedy in place of heathen customs of treatments. Suku Savar responded to the medical treatment and got well. The case of Suku Savar strengthened the faith of the people on christianity and adopted it enmasse.

What is most striking in the comparative analysis of village life in Tahajang and Ragedi is that although the former is nearer to Parlakemedi town and is located on the bus route it is least affected by the urban influences of the town and road communication. Conversely Ragedi which is far from the urban centre and away from bus

service exhibits an urban style of life. It may be assumed that the change which is noticed in the life style of the people of Ragedi may be attributed to the influence of christianity. Then the question which may be raised in this context is that why did not the christianity have the same impact on the people of Tahajang? Further probing into the socio-economic situation particularly to the leadership pattern which motivates change may throw light on this problem. The paper discusses below the nature of leadership which participated in the elective system and the manner in which the people's representatives to the statutory Panchayat and Lok Sabha were selected.

PANCHAYAT ELECTIONS

Selection of Ward member—Ragedi

Ragedi and three neighbouring villages constitute a ward. They are Tuburuda (18 households), Ukuruda (4 households) and Pindaolu (10 households). Including 43 households of Ragedi there are thus 75 households comprising about 375 population in the ward.

In 1961 when the statutory Grama Panchayat was introduced in the Gumma Block people of different villages selected their own ward members to represent their respective Grama Panchayats. The ward to which Ragedi belongs is included in Kalakota Grama Panchayat. For convenience sake this ward is called Ragedi ward. All adult male members of this ward gathered at the church in Ragedi and unanimously selected Ragina Gomanga who was the Gomanga of Ragedi as ward member. Being very old Ragina did not agree to shoulder the responsibility. When the Gomanga was unwilling to accept the offer the people then selected Daipa Savar, an elderly and important

person of Ragedi as ward member. Daipa accepted the offer and is now continuing as ward member ever since he was first selected in 1962.

Sarpanch Election, Kalakota Grama Panchayat.

Like Ragedi ward, all other wards of Kalakota Grama Panchayat had selected their respective ward members unanimously. All the ward members and a few older persons from each village gathered at Kalakota to select Sarpanch of the Panchayat. The ward members and all others present there selected Kirtan Savar of Tumkur for this post. Kirtan Savar was reluctant to accept the offer because he was much younger than the village elders present in the meeting and considered himself inexperienced. Since the verdict of the people was strongly in his favour he accepted the offer against his will. The qualities which conducted in his favour are his wide contact with general public and the leading politicians of the State. His knowledge in Oriya language, and his modesty and devotion to service to tribal communities are equally counted among the best leadership qualities which he is endowed with. Like the ward members he also continues as Sarpanch uncontested through all the successive elections from the inception of the Grama Panchayat in the Gumma Block.

Selection of ward member, Tahajang

Tahajang itself is a ward included in Tarangada Grama Panchayat. The people of Tahajang selected unanimously Chakra Gomanga, the Gomanga of the village as the ward member. Chakra Gomanga continued as ward member for five years till his death. Budda Gomanga, one of the older members of the Gomanga lineage succeeded him. In his case also there

was no contest and he was selected by general consensus of opinion. The people of his ward wanted him to continue as ward member in the next term. But he was unwilling to continue any further. Therefore the people of Tahajang decided unanimously that Majhila Savara, another important person of the village should be their ward member. Majhila Savara continues as the ward member of Tahajang.

Sarpanch Election, Tarangada Grama Panchayat.

In the first election there were two contestants Radhaballava Das and Guri Agada. Radhaballava Das was elected to the office of Sarpanch. The election was on majority-minority pattern. For the next term Mukund Palra, a local merchant of Tarangada was selected uncontested. The 1975 election was a contested one. The contest was between Laxmikanta Gauda of Kurulunda and Mukling Palra of Tarangada for the office of Sarpanch. Laxmikanta Gauda was elected by majority vote. He is continuing as Sarpanch of Tarangada Grama Panchayat.

Chairman Election: Gumma Panchayat Samiti.

The Gumma Panchayat Samiti to which Kalakota and Tarangada Grama Panchayats belong started functioning since 1962. At that time the Samiti was constituted by four nominated members and one elected member. The Subdivisional Officer was then empowered to nominate persons to serve as members of the Panchayat Samiti. The persons who were nominated were: (1) Chaitana Dandasena of Gumma, (2) Radhamohan Bissoyi of Seranga, (3) Nila Savara of Kalakota and (4) K. Apparao of Jeeva. The elected member was Musuli Naidu of Jeeva.

Formerly Jeeva Panchayat was a part of Kathanagar Panchayat Samiti. But after 1961 when the panchayats were reorganized Jeeva was included in the Gumma Panchayat Samiti. Musuli Naidu was an elected ward member of Jeeva Panchayat. When his Panchayat was included in the Gumma Panchayat Samiti he was taken in as one of the members of the Samiti.

For the office of Chairman of Gumma Panchayat Samiti, there was a contest between Chaitana Dandasena and Musuli Naidu. It was an indirect election which means that the five members of the Samiti were to elect their Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The members elected Chaitana Dandasena as Chairman and Radha Mohan Bisoyi as Vice-Chairman of the Gumma Panchayat Samiti. After a few days Musuli Naidu became the Sarpanch of Jeeva Grama Panchayat.

Chaitana Dandasena was in the position of Chairman from 1962 to 1968. In 1968 election there were 5 candidates in the field. They were 1. Bipin Nalk, Dom by caste of Seranga, 2. Barik Pujari, Ex Huddadar of Gamba, 3. Chaitan Palk, Ex Mili, a man of Gumma, 4. Musuli Naidu, Sarpanch of Jeeva and 5. Radhaballava Das of Tarangada. There was keen contest among the candidates and Barik Pujari was elected to the office of Chairman by majority vote.

Barik Pujari served the full term of office till the year 1971, when there was a fresh election for the same office. The candidates who were in the field are 1. Barik Pujari, former Chairman, 2. Bipin Nalk, a Dom from Seranga who contested the Chairman election in 1968, and 3. Bhikari Pattnayak of Gumma, a new entrant to the political arena. Bhikari Pattnayak won the election and was in the office of Sarpanch Chairman from 1971 to 1975.

Unlike the previous three elections the 1975 Chairman election was not contested. Bhubananda Bisoyi, Ex-Bisoyi of Gumma, Barik Pujari of Gamba and two Doms of the same village filed nominations to contest the election. Prior to the election all the Sacras who are numerically preponderant in the Samiti gathered in Kalkota and decided unanimously to vote for Bhubananda Bisoyi. Knowing this that they would surely be defeated the two Dom candidates and Barik Pujari withdrew their candidature and Bhubananda Bisoyi was selected by general consensus of opinion as the Chairman of Gumma Panchayat Samiti. Bhubananda Bisoyi is continuing now in the same position.

It is very clear in the successive Grama Panchayat elections that generally the mode of election of candidates for the offices of ward member and Sarpanch was unanimity and general consensus of opinion. Contest or election by majority vote is traced in the cases where the non-tribal candidates have entered into the political arena of Panchayat election. Cases of contest for the lower and middle order offices have occurred in Tarangada Grama Panchayat which is situated near Paralakhe, a village, an important urban centre in the locality accessible to all wheather road on which bus service lies regularly and composed of non-tribal and tribal communities.

Contrasted to this there is not a single instance of contest for such levels of offices in Kalkota Grama Panchayat. The selection of ward member and Sarpanch in all successive elections was by general consensus of opinion. In fact, the persons who were chosen in 1962 continued in their respective offices through 1968, 1971 and 1975 elections up to the present time on the strength of unanimous verdict of the voters. Moreover in a

political arena where a single community face-to-face type is an overwhelming majority any contest between parties for political position is bound to be dull and of insignificant order. The reason is that the element of unanimity characteristic of numerically preponderant face-to-face community will inhibit the forces of division of its verdict and the party which enjoys the good will of the face-to-face community's choice will bag all its votes as is clear in the case of an uncontested election.

Kuskota Grama Panchayat which is the epitome of Saora culture exhibits a kind of village unity and cultural homogeneity that is unparalleled in the rest of the Saora country. Generally speaking, consensus of opinion by which selection of people's representatives is made is common in those of the areas of the Saora country which are less affected by non-tribal political elements and urban influences. In this respect the Saora villages in Gummur Block are like face-to-face communities, which hold the value of unity unanimously and consensus much above the value of contest factionalism and conflict.

Another feature which is discernible in the successive elections to the office of Chairmen of Gummur Panchayat Samiti is that the verdict of the Saora voters was in favour of the erstwhile Maltah head Bessoji and his administrative staff and militia men. The verdict of the majority, that is the Saoras in Gummur area in the matter of elections to positions of power in statutory Grama Panchayat was on the side of the erstwhile Bessoji, his relations and his Huddadars. Nalks and village Gomanges in a number of cases. The continued obedience to the past authority even after its liquidation is one of the significant features of face-to-face communities.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PARTY POLITICS AND PARTICIPATION IN LAST LOK SABHA ELECTION

Awareness of Party Politics

The political party which is known to the majority of the Saoras of Gummur Block is Congress in totality not in parts as 'Ruling Congress' or Congress for Democracy. They have no idea about what is ruling party and what is opposition party. They confessed that in all general elections either to legislative assembly or to parliament, they have been unanimous in the matter of casting vote for Congress. In their mind except Congress there is no other political party in existence in the country. To them congress is synonymous with Indira Gandhi. Voting for Congress means to them voting for Indira Gandhi. They stress that they are not Congress. In other words they are men of Indira Gandhi. When asked about Mahatma Gandhi, the majority of the Saoras replied "they have heard only the name of Indira Gandhi and don't know who the other Gandhi is."

Election Campaign

During Lok Sabha election one public meeting was studied. It was held at Gummur and Shri Mohan Nalk presided over it and also addressed the public who attended the meeting. The chief of the District Level Congress organisation sent prior information about the meeting to the Chairman of the Gummur Panchayat Samiti. On getting the news the Chairman convened a meeting of the Sarpanches and ward members to inform them about the meeting and arrange for a large gathering of people on this occasion. The Sarpanches and the ward members informed the people of their respective Panchayats and wards and asked them to attend the meeting in large number.

The news about the meeting did not reach many villages. For example,

the people of Tahajang were not aware of it because the ward member of this village who was supposed to inform the people of his ward was unaware of the meeting. In rural and tribal areas the political parties make known to the people their programmes of public meetings and speeches and their manifestos through the medium of statutory Grama Panchayats. In spite of wide publicity by the ward members and sarpanches the attendance in the meeting was less than 100 people. The reasons for poor attendance was their low political consciousness and their pre-occupation in heavy agricultural operations in shifting cultivation.

Except this meeting neither the Congress party candidate nor the Janata party candidate had visited the Gumma area even for once on election campaign. Three Congress posters which were posted in Ragedi and Tahajang by the Congress President of the Block constituted the whole of election campaign in the study villages.

Voting Behaviour

A large majority of the Saora voters were unaware of the parties which were contesting their vote. Though some leading members of the Saora Community had known that the Congress party was contesting the election, but none in the study villages could tell the other party with which the Congress party was contesting. The people in general were not able to tell the names of the candidates who stood for election to the Lok Sabha from their constituency, while the majority of the Saoras of

Gumma Block were ignorant about the contesting candidates. Some of them thought vaguely that the contest was between Indira Gandhi and Biju Patnaik.

The Saoras had no idea about the symbol of the Janata Party. But they had some vague idea about the symbol of Congress party. Some respondents said that it was bullock and others guessed it to be cow. But very few could tell the exact symbol of the Congress party.

On the day of polling the ward members escorted the voters of their respective wards to the polling booths. It was observed that more than 60 per cent of the voters from the study villages had been to the polling stations to exercise their franchise. But about 20 per cent of them were not able to do so since their names were not present in the voters' list. At the booth the Saoras of different villages talked with one another that they would cast their vote for Indira Gandhi without referring to the party at all. Many a Saora voter stamped the ballot papers twice or thrice amounting thereby to a large number of cancellations of ballot papers. On the whole the observation of the Lok Sabha election in Gumma Block reveals that the concept of political party is beyond the cognition of the Saoras. As feudal order is personified in the form of Raja, Baisoyi and Huddadar, the political party is personified in the form of some political luminaries in their cognitive orientation.

Appendix I
1968-1969

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age-group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Panchayat order	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Ragadi Ward Member	Doirpa Savara	Middle aged (40)	Savara		Poor	Unanimity
Kavakon Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Kirtan Savara	Young	Savara		Moderate means	Unanimity
Talharog Ward Member	Chakra Gromango	Old	Savara	Gromang	Moderate means	Unanimity
Turingada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Rathaballava Das	Middle aged	Oriya (Brahmin)		Rich	Majority Vote
	Gurli Agadu	Middle aged	Passo		Moderate means	
Gumma Panchayat Sarpanch Chasmina	Charitana Dandayena, Chasmina	Middle aged	Oriya (Parika)		Rich	Majority Vote
	Rathambaban Bessoy, Vice-Chairman	Middle aged	Oriya		Rich	Majority Vote
	Nila Savara	Middle aged	Savara		Moderate means	
	K. Appa Rao	Middle aged	Telugu		Rich	
	Masani Naidu	Middle aged	Telugu		Rich	

APPENDIX I.
1968—1971

Type of Election	Name of candidate	Age group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Panchayat	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Rajadi Ward Member	Durga Savara	Middle aged	Saora	"	Poor	Unanimity
Kelakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Kirtan Savara	Young	Saora	"	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tahang Ward Member	Budda Gomang	Old	Saora	Relation of Gomang	Moderate means	Unanimity
Tarangada Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Makuling Patra	Middle aged	Oriya (Brahmin)	"	Rich (Merchant)	Unopposed
Gumma Panchayat Samiti, Chairman	Barik Puji	Middle aged	Oriya	Huddadar	Rich	Majority Vote
	Bipin Naik	Middle aged	Desi	"	Moderate means	"
	Charan Patk	Middle aged	Oriya	Paik	Moderate means	"
	Radhakrishna Das	Middle aged	Oriya Paik	"	Moderate means	"
	Musal Naidu	Middle aged	Tejuga	"	"	"

Appendix II
1971-1975

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age-group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Panchayat order	Economic condition	Mode of selection
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Rajesh Waru Member	Jappa Sarar	Middle aged (45)	Saura		Poor	Unanimity
Kameshwar Panchayat Sarpanch	Kurian Sarar	Young	Saura		Moderate means	Unanimity
Chhajang Waru Member	Mahula Sarara	Old	Saura			Unanimity
Tara goda Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Musaling Patra	Middle aged	Uhya		houses rich	Uncontested
Gentima Panchayat Sarpanch						
	Bhikar, Patanvok	Middle aged	Orwa		Moderate means	Majority Vote
	Bark Patar	Middle aged	Orwa	Headar	rich	
	Bipon Nakh	Middle aged	Dom		Moderate means	

Appendix II
1975

Type of Election	Name of candidates	Age group	Caste/Tribe	Position held in Prudal order	Economic condition	Mode of election
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Rajesh Ward Member	Dalpat Savaria	Middle aged (45)	Savara		Poor	Uncontested
Kalakot Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Kartan Savara	Young	Savara	..	Moderate means	Uncontested
Tahang Wad Member	Mapula Savara	Old	Savara	..	Rich man	Uncontested
Tarangani Gram Panchayat Sarpanch	Laxm kanda Gauda	Middle aged	Milk man		Moderate means	Moderate vote
	Makong Patra	Middle aged	Komti		Merchant	
Lumina Panchayat Samit Chairman	Brahmananda Bisoiya	Middle aged	Oraia	Mulla-Head (Bisoiya)	Rich	Uncontested

Anthropogenetic study of the Pentia Halvas of Koraput District

LSHA DEKA

K GOSH MAJLIK

PART I

INTRODUCTION

The People and the Habitat :

District Koraput in Orissa is the abode of many tribal populations who are predominantly of Protoaustraloïd origin. It has a unique position geographically. It borders with Andhra Pradesh on one side and Madhya Pradesh on the other. Hilly ranges of Eastern Ghats occupies most portion and the valleys underlying are the populated areas. Rich forest is visible on the hilly sections and temperature and rainfall varies from the plain areas to the hill areas. Numerous primitive populations occupy different territories and pass for different tribes and Scheduled Castes. They maintain apparent biological and social segregation and thus provides scope for anthropological studies concerning habitational conditions, literacy and technological efficiency are still in very primitive condition. Even to-day communication within the district is very poor. In past communication was only by foot. Naturally, the populations

under same tribal nomenclature, but occupying different territories of the same district do not have social inter course. Such is the case in the tribe under present study.

The people under present study call themselves as Halvas, an agricultural tribal community. They narrate a myth regarding their migration from neighbouring district of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh. According to this myth, they incurred wrath of the local king by killing his elephant and fled away to an area 'Pentkona'. As they were hiding in 'Pentkona' this section of Halvas came to be known later as 'Pentia Sathpatha' (Acharya 1964: 161) also reports similar thing. There are another section of Halvas living in other area Mathi Police Station area of the same district who do not have any social or biological communication with these people. Census of India reports them as 'Halvas' whereas the present people only as 'Pentia'. The problem of identification by name is increased in this way and only a bio-cultural approach can help solving the problem by assessing their cultural and ethnic affinity.

The Study Supported by U. G. C. IV Plus Research Grant of U. S. S. R. University

In absence of any multiracial plasma study on these two population groups, we have ventured a small scale study on sampling basis with limited resources at our disposal. The present study is aimed at revealing some salient features of morphological, metrical, and genetic character among the Pentia Halva.

Distribution

1961 Census report reveals presence of these people in Koraput, Mayur

bhanj, Keonjhar, Phulbani, (Baudhkondhama, and Dhenkanal districts. Few persons have been reported from Cuttack and Puri districts also. Total population in Orissa was estimated to be 9656 with sex ratio as 971 females per 1000 males. District Koraput records 42 per cent of the total population followed next by Mayurbhanj as 40 per cent. The table below will give a detailed occurrence of the population in different district.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

District		Total No.	Male	Female
Koraput	..	4,112	2,067	2,045
2. Mayurbhanj	..	3,853	1,965	1,888
3. Keonjhar	..	685	370	315
4. Baudh Konáhamal (Phulbani)	..	551	277	274
5. Dhenkanal	..	389	182	187
6. Cuttack	..	61	16	45
7. Sambalpur	..	24	18	6
8. Puri	..	1	1	0

Total population in Orissa 9,656 Male 4,899 and Female 4,757

The data of 1971 Census is not at hand. In Koraput, the Pentia Halvas are found to live around Jeypore, Bharabang, Ar and Boriguma. In the Jeypore locality, they are found in six villages, around Bharabang or in thirteen villages and around Boriguma in four villages. Data for present study were collected from 8 villages in Jeypore and Bharabangpur locality.

Occupation

The Pentia Halvas are mentioned in the 1901 Census Report of Madras

Presidency Part I 1902, page 174) as 'Orissa cultivators in V. nagaputnam Agency also called Halava'. They are predominantly settled agriculturist and live in the plains. They use plough for cultivation and mainly raise paddy. We have not come across any case of shifting cultivation in the locality under our survey.

The present group of population practise settled agriculture, most of the population being engaged in agriculture either as cultivator or as agriculture labourer.

Classification of the Panti Halva Census, is as follows

of different workers according to 1961

Workers	Total	Male	Female
Cultivator	2590	1619	97
Agriculture labourer	1,040	530	510
Mining and Quarrying	161	144	7
Household Industry	740	385	355
Manufacturing other than household industry	5	3	2
Construction	1	1	0
Trade and Commerce	24	9	15
Transport storage and Communication	6	6	0
Other services	627	309	318
Total No. of workers	5,184	3,086	2,098
Total No. of non-workers	4,472	1,813	2,659

Language and Educational level

The Panti Halvas speak Oriya and do not have any language of their own. Census Reports mention that some amount of Ho and Kui language is also present in some locality.

Educational level is very low. We have not found any literate person in our sample. Das mentions the 5 per cent to 8 per cent are literate without any educational level.

Religion

Their main deity is "Adimais" or Samale, Thakuran a goddess. They appease her on all crises like epidemic breakout and other natural distress, and also on religious occasions. Also Hindu gods have been adopted. Jani is the priest who worships goddess. Usually he is of Paraja community. Bisari or community astrologer helps in settling dates of sacred occasions & religious festivals.

Village : Organizations

Huts are mud built and thatched and arranged usually in rows. Divisions and breakdown of families after marriage of sons, create a complex household around common courtyard. Male members are the head of a family. Traditional headman of a village is 'Bhat Naik'. He wields power bestowed upon him for settling matters of dispute or social problems as and when required. Chalan is also a traditional post, who carries message and help Naik.

Marriage

Previously there was preference for marriage of cross-cousins i.e. marrying Mother's brother's daughter. But at present following neighbouring caste Hindu people this preference is lost. Only the permissibility exists. It is probable that previously levirate was also in practice, as the widow has to pay some amount to her husband's

only for analysis but for ready comparison with other studies as and when required

For the purpose of having proper assessment of anthropometric features, only adult individuals were measured. The present sample of 164 adult individuals were selected randomly after segregating or stratifying the available population into adult and sub-adult units and further into not closely related individuals. And it is sample drawn on one strata was drawn. The data are presented shown in the tables No. 1 to 7 which are discussed in the course of analysis below

1. Stature or Height vertex

Table 1 contains classified data on stature of 164 Pentia Habas. Six categories of heights are made as approved by Martin

The Pentias fall mostly in short stature group 53.68 per cent and in which 4.88 per cent of individuals are very short. The lowest height measured is 147.0 cm and the highest was 170.0 table 3; People with lower medium height is found among 14.63 per cent, medium height among 24.38 per cent and upper medium among 4.88 per cent. Tall category is reached only by 2.44 per cent individuals

Table 1
CLASSIFICATION OF STATURE (ACCORDING TO MARTIN)

Type	Range in cm.	Frequency	Percentage
		N	%
Very Short	150.0 — 149.9	8	4.88
Short	160.0 — 159.9	80	48.78
Lower Medium	160.0 — 163.9	24	14.63
Medium	164.0 — 166.9	40	24.38
Upper Medium	167.0 — 169.9	8	4.88
Tall	170.0 — 170.9	4	2.44
Total		164	99.97

We may assume that these people have mostly short stature marginal to medium i.e. 160.0 cm as displayed by the mean Stature as 158.27 cm \pm 0.46. Standard deviation is calculated as 6.24 cm, indicating great variability which is expressed by coefficient of variation (3.81) in table 3

2 Sitting Height

Height of person is divided into two segments length of trunk as head and length of inferior extremity. Varying rate of development is noted in these two segments from childhood to adult life. Besides age and

sex variations, people are seen to vary ethnically as in case of other height measurements. Sitting height displays certain aspect of trunk development, though it is not exactly trunk

height as it includes head. It can rather be called as bust height and its growth and development are mainly achieved during and after puberty, as opposed to the lower limbs.

Table 2
CLASSIFICATION OF SITTING HEIGHT

Height (in cms.)	Frequency in individuals	
	N	Per cent
61 - 67	4	2.44
68 - 72	12	7.51
73 - 77	40	48.78
78 - 82	52	31.1
83 - 87	16	9.75
Total	124	99.99

Sitting height is also used to calculate stature index or body build index with relation to stature. Mammocoe and Laflamme-Ruggieri have introduced two different methods of calculating the index which are used by persons engaged in studying growth. For the present analysis, as the study has been kept limited no such attempts have been made.

Table 2 displays fivefold subdivisions of sitting height measurements. Highest frequency 48.78 per cent noticed in the group 78-82 cms. Mean sitting height is 76.95 cm with s.e. of 0.28 and a deviation of 3.63 cms (table 3). The mean sitting height is little less than half the mean stature. This indicates an overall occurrence of brachycormic physique in Ruggieri-Vallois Scale.

Table 3
STATISTICAL VALUES OF SOME VARIABLE TRAITS

Measurement Type	Range in cms.	Mean in cms.	S.E. in cms.	S.D. in cms.	C.V.
1. Stature	147.1 - 170.0	158.2	4.01	5.24	3.27
2. Sitting Height	16.0 - 87	76.9	0.28	3.63	4.72
3. Head Length	8.0 - 11	9.5	0.2	2.81	2.94
4. Head Breadth	15.0 - 19.1	16.28	0.05	0.77	4.22
5. Arm Breadth	12.7 - 15	12.9	0.1	0.6	4.21
6. Nose Length	4.0 - 5.5	4.66	0.11	1.37	2.91
7. Nose Breadth	3.1 - 4.8	3.8	0.07	0.6	1.59

3. Head Measurements

Classification of human races were mainly done on the basis of cephalic types depending on measurements of head size and shape has always given the anthropologists a headaching problem as evidence from the earlier literature. Occurrence of macrocephaly, their migration etc. have been widely studied. Now, these are used as a descriptive trait in population

studies not with reduction in value.

In the present case, only three dimensions of head was measured length, breadth and height.

In table 3 the data are presented. Head height varies in measurement from 8.6 cm to 17.6 cm as displayed by a high value of variance coefficient of variation (23.38). Mean head height is found to be 12.18 cm.

Table 4

CLASSIFICATION OF HEAD ACCORDING TO CEPHALIC INDEX IN LEIP

Type	Range (male)	Frequency	
		N	%
1) Macrocephaly	70-79.9	8	4.88
2) Dolichocephaly	70-79.9	80	48.78
3) Mesocephaly	70.0-80.9	45	29.25
4) Brachycephaly	81.0-85.4	30	12.9
5) Hyperbrachycephaly	86-90.9	5	3.05
6) Subbrachycephaly	91.0-X	2	1.22

Compared to head height, length and breadth measurements show less variability. Head length varies from 15.0 cm to 19.1 cm and breadth varies from 12.5 cm to 15.0 cm. Mean values for both the measurements are 18.26 in case of head length and 12.73 in case of breadth (table 3).

These measurements are utilized for calculating three indices as devised by Martin and Saller cephalic index (i) for length breadth ratio, (ii) for length height ratio and (iii) for breadth height ratio. These are presented in tables 4, 5 and 6.

Table 4 contains frequency of length breadth index of head. Majority of the people are dolichocephals (48.78 per cent), of which 4.88 per cent are hyperdolicho and 29.28 per cent are in mesocephaly group. Broad headed persons occur in 12.07 per cent. Brachycephaly is present in all its three categories. Saller's brachycephal 12.19 per cent, hyperbrachycephal 3.05 per cent and 1.22 per cent of subbrachycephal.

Length height ratio according to Saller's classification of head presents 90.23 per cent hypsicephal. Other

two categories of medium and long roofed head, occur exactly in same number 4.88 per cent in each case (table 5)

Table 5
LENGTH HEIGHT INDEX OF HEAD (SALLER)

Type of head	Range of index	Frequency	
		n	%
Orthocephalic	.. X-57.9	8	4.68
Orthocephalic	.. 58.0-62.0	8	4.88
Hypocephalic	.. 63.0-X	148	90.23

Breadth-height index of head also exhibit highest frequency of acrocephals (77.43 per cent). Metrocephals comes as next high 12.80 per cent and Tautocephals as 9.76 per cent.

It is revealed from the study that the Pentia exhibit mostly long and high head, though few persons are found to possess broad and high head.

Table 6
BREADTH HEIGHT INDEX OF HEAD (MARTIN AND SALLER)

Type of head	Range of index	Frequency	
		N	%
Tautocephalic	.. X-78.9	16	9.76
Metrocephalic	.. 79.0-84.9	14	12.80
Acrocephalic	.. 85.0-X	117	77.43

4 Nasal Measurements

Like cephalic characteristics, nasal characters are also used as racial criteria. There are several measurements and observations on nose, like length, breadth, depth, nostril apertures, septum, bridge etc. Out of

these, the two essential and most important characters of metrical nature presented here (table 3)

Nose may be described as long or short or narrow or broad. These arbitrary descriptions depend much on facial length. So index calculation is

widely used, which express length/breadth ratio (classification of 1000

index according to Martin and Saller (1957) is presented below.

Table 7

CLASSIFICATION OF VASAL INDEX MARTIN 3A0 SALLER

Type	Range	Frequency	
		N	%
Leptorhine	55.0-69.9	5	3.05
Mesorrhine	70.0-84.9	95	57.92
Chamorrhine	85.0-99.9	64	39.03

Lengths were taken from 40 *S. leucomelas* larvae, with a range of 5.0–11.1 mm (mean of 0.11). Nymphs from 20 stages from 2 June to 4 June were taken, with a range of 0.4–0.6 mm (mean of 0.05). The two mean values exhibit an interesting correspondence. The mean length is marginally higher than the mean length for the present material, but more than length \times is 13.9% as against 5.01 in the latter), shown in Table 3.

[illegible]

PART III

SOME CHARACTERS WITH GENETIC IMPLICATIONS

Some characters have been chosen for study which have known way of

These data have been analysed in a number of ways. The first is to calculate the mean for the 100 trials for each subject and then to compare these means for each group. This is done using a two-way analysis of variance and to judge the position of these means relative to each other. In the second analysis, the 100 trials have been analysed and these have been used as 'data points' for assessing inter-subject differences.

In order to obtain a more definite conclusion, this study was to be restricted within the study of only a certain group. These are (i) ABO blood group (ii) Factor with or without Rh (iii) Sex (iv) Age (v) Height (vi) Weight (vii) Colour of skin (viii) Colour of hair (ix) Colour of eye (x) Colour of nose (xi) Colour of lips (xii) Colour of tongue (xiii) Preference of eye or eye dominance (xiv) Hand digital formula and (xv) Toe formula.

Design

¹ Sites were selected randomly from two areas of concentration: (1) Jaipur and (2) Bhairav nagar.

Within the villages only the males could be sampled. Female data were scanty and incomplete for all the traits and thus omitted from analysis. Only those persons who co-operated were considered and close relatives were avoided.

Method

1. Blood Groups ABO blood group and Rh-factor were studied with 2 per cent suspension of washed RBC obtained from finger pricks. All blood samples were studied within two hours of collection. Sera for ABO and Rh D₁ were obtained from Bharat Laboratories, Bombay.

All the group A and AB blood samples were tested with extract of *Dolichos biflorus* to determine the sub-groups A¹ and A². Rh-factor study was to be restricted only to anti-D serum as other sera were not available.

2. Taste sensitivity to PTC was tested by solution prepared and diluted as outlined by Harris and Kalmus (1949), but 'sorting technique' was modified by introducing the solution through droppers. Stock solution was prepared in distilled water but diluent was local drinking water, previously boiled.

3. Tongue rolling and folding were noted after careful observation on performance of the subject.

4. Hair growth on the ear rims were noted and recorded as 'mild' few and 'strong' more than five hairs.

5. Presence of hair on the back side of the head could be observed easily as most of the people do not wear a turban tucked up in front, as found in other tribes of the same district. Type and number of whorls were marked.

6. Presence of hair on the dorsal side of the middle section of all the four digits (save the thumb) of hand was observed with a hand magnifying glass, after properly cleaning the portions. All the people are manual workers. So most of the affected individuals have dropped their hairs, though the follicles are embedded in the skin. Careful observation reveals this matter.

7. Types of Ear lobe attachment was observed on both the lappets and extent of attachment in the doubtful cases were examined. The persons were noted under categories, 'free', 'attached' and 'intermediate' or partially attached.

8. Bilateral variance in dominance of thumbs were observed for four characters: 1. Hand clasping, 2. Arm folding, 3. Handedness and 4. Preferring eye.

For hand clasping and arm folding, three performances were taken. In determining handedness, the subject was asked to throw stone three. Even preference was found out by asking each person to look through a monocular view finder. Readings were marked and noted as 'R' or 'L' meaning right or left according to preference. No doubtful case was noticed.

9. Though there are instruments like dactylometer one devised by S. R. Das and a modified one by I. J. S. Bernal here a more simple but precise method was adopted for quick field study of the relative lengths of the fingers in the different tribal areas. This device consists of a millimeter graph paper fitted on a plywood board. Palm is placed on such graph-board tallying with a base line and an axis. Readings of finger tip projections are precisely taken by placing a wooden block.

The readings are noted as 2 4, 2 4 and 2 4. Similarly the approach of the little finger up to the last interphalangeal joint of the fourth finger was also taken by placing the palm in supine

10 For studying the comparative lengths of the 1st and 2nd toes, each subject was asked to present his feet on a flat surface, and stand erect, so that all the toes are fully stretched in natural position. Observation was made and in cases where the two

lengths are nearly equal, judgement was made by placing feet on the graph paper-board covered with cellophane paper to prevent spoiling

ANALYSIS

1. Blood Groups

The present study comprises of the analyses of data on A^1, A^2, B, O blood group and Rh factor of 168 individuals belonging to Penta Halva tribal community. The data are presented here (table 8)

Table 8

ABO AND Rh PHENOTYPES OF THE PENTIAHALVA AND THE GENE FREQUENCIES

Phenotypes	n	%	Gene frequencies	
			Bernstein's	Max Lik. Score
A^1	8	4.76	$P = 0.04919$	0.04919 ± 0.0118
A^2	16	9.52	$p_1 = 0.05280$	0.05085 ± 0.01268
B	76	45.23	$q = 0.29671$	0.29060 ± 0.0204
O	69	35.71	$r = 0.60340$	0.60765 ± 0.0277
A^1B	8	4.76	0.00000	0.00000
Rh(D)	168	100.00	Rh(d)	0.00

It has been observed that group B is found in maximum number, i.e., 45.23 per cent, followed next by Group O (35.71 per cent) and next by A^1 (4.76 per cent) and next by A^2 (9.52 per cent). It is interesting to note that sub group A^1 is less in occurrence than A^2 , only 4.76 per cent as compared to 9.52 per cent. Usually A^1 is of half the occurrence A^2 (4.76 per cent), there is not a single case A^1B individual.

Gene frequencies for the alleles P, A^1, q, B and r, O were calculated using both Bernstein's improved method as well as maximum likelihood

estimation. The calculated frequencies are presented in the above table (8). Both the estimates show highest occurrence of r gene followed sequentially by q , then P and P^1 .

Same number of individuals were tested with Rh (o) serum with incubation at the required temperature. All of the sampled blood showed positive reaction and thus no case of Rh-negative was detected. Complete absence of negative phenotype in a randomly sampled finite population indicates strong selection operating against recessive non beneficial allele.

2. P.T.C. Taste Sensitivity

Tasting ability of Phenyl Thio carbamide was studied among 172 Penta Havas. Solution of 1.3 grams of the crystal per litre of water was used with serial dilutions as explained in previous pages. This crystal has got characteristic that some persons can taste it bitter and the others do not get any taste. When age of serial dilution is that it helps in determining threshold of tasting ability. It happens that the

taster persons got slightly bitter taste in higher dilution number but their actual taste capacity is detected in one or two solutions lesser (higher concentration). This is because physiological threshold of a person may lie in between two solution numbers.

The sample of 172 contains 44 persons who could not taste even the number 1 solution, and placed under category 1 (Table 9). No person could taste solution of higher dilution than 8 (Table 9).

Table 9

TAKE THRESHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF PTC OF THE PENTA HAVAS AND THE GENE FREQUENCIES

		Solution No.									
No. tested	..	<1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
172	..	44	24	12	16	4	14	28	22	8	0
Taster		{		n		%		Mean threshold		Allelic frequency of t	
		{		72		41.86		6.333 ± 1076		0.762 ± 003	

Considering the demarcation of taster non taster lie between solutions 4 and 5, taste phenotype and mean threshold of taster have been calculated (Table above). Non taster frequency is very high 68.14 per cent. There are 41.86 per cent tasters. Range of threshold of taster vary from 5 to 8 with a mean of 6.333.

Assuming diallelic inheritance of taste character, the gene frequencies have been calculated by square root method. Frequency of recessive gene t is 0.762 and that of dominant gene T is 0.238 (Table 9).

3 Tongue : Rolling and Folding

There are certain persons who can roll their tongue longitudinally and laterally. This is also mentioned as tongue tip overfolding and moving up the lateral margins. But the capacity do not always go together, that means same person may not possess both capacities. Pedigree studies have revealed that the inheritance is in the manner of PTC taste ability. So this trait can be used to measure inter population variation, as the observations are less critical.

Four categories could be made for recording the tongue movement capacity. These who can do the both roll and fold: Who cannot roll

but fold: Who can roll but fail to fold, and the is Persons who are negative to both the performances

Table 10

PHENOTYPIC DISTRIBUTION AND GENE FREQUENCIES OF TONGUE ROLLING AND FOLDING IN THE PENTIAS

No.	Roller/Folder	Rever/Roller folder	Non roller Folder	Non-roller Non folder
168	n 52	18	28	92
	% 30.95	9.52	16.66	54.78
		n Positive type	Gene frequencies —	
Rolling	48	28.57 %	R	
			O a=0.534	
			L	
Folding	60	45.24 %	L A=0.456	
			I	
			K	

Failure on tongue rolling and folding, as presented in Table 10. In a sample of 168 individuals, there are four phenotypic categories of the following nature: 54.78 per cent persons can neither roll up or fold their tongues, 16.66 per cent persons can perform both the movements. There are 28.57 per cent persons who fail at the intermediate category or can perform either of the characters. Out of this 28.52 per cent persons can roll up but not fold their tongues and 16.66 per cent can show only folding character. There are more persons with negative phenotype for both the characters, but comparatively folding character has much higher frequency than rolling. In pooled data only 28.58 per cent persons can roll their tongue whereas number of folder has gone up to 45.24 per cent (Table 10).

Molecular frequencies were estimated by using square root of the negative phenotypic frequency and standard error was calculated. The frequencies are presented in Table 24.

4. Hypertrichous or Hair on the ear Pinnae

There are certain male persons who develop hair on their ears. Single or both ears may show this development. Also different areas of ear are observed to bear hair. Tommasi (1907) described such characters first and marked as an inherited trait in the male line. Since then a number of workers in human genetics have contributed valuable materials for its establishment as gene or trait. The age of onset of hair development, intensity of hair development and position of hair growth, have been critically studied in

different populations. R. R. Gates Human Genetics, Vol. I, P. 348 has discussed the problem and the sex linked nature of holandric inheritance.

The affected gene is accepted to have locus in the Y chromosome has sexing the trait restricted among the males.

Table 11
INCIDENCE OF HAIRY PINNAE

Number tested		Affected individuals		Total
		Mild	Strong	
156	n	32	5	40
	%	20.51	5.12	25.63

Sarkar et al (1961) proposed a detailed classification of hairiness of classification of five categories, Gates, Chakravarty and Mukherjee (1962) adopted another scale of marking hairiness. All these efforts though aimed at development of recording, create problems for other workers. To avoid all sorts of complications the present data were recorded under two distinct categories, "mild" with hair up to five and "strong" with hairs more than five. There was no case of bushy hair development.

As all the subjects were above twenty years, there was very little chance of missing the trait due to non eruption of hair. It has been reported by other workers, that hair start developing at the age of 18 and remain black even at 80. Stern, Centerwall and Sarkar (1964) again discussed the

problem on its linkage to Y chromosome.

The present Pentia Halva population exhibit 25.63 per cent affected in a sample of 156 males (Table 11). Most of the trait carriers show mild degree of hairiness 20.51 per cent and only 5.12 per cent show strong development ranging hair development from 6 to 15).

5. Occipital Hair Whorl

On the lambda region of occiput hair forms whorl. Sometimes there are two whorls also. This occurrence of whorls has created at least two morphological categories: i) clockwise or ii) anti-clockwise, and the two types again in combination produce three possible types of double whorl: i) both of similar type, i.e. clockwise or anti-clockwise or (ii) of two different types.

Table 12
TYPES OF OCCIPITAL HAIR WHORL

	Single whorl		Double whorl	Total
	Clockwise	Anti-clockwise	Clock anti-clock	
n	112	52	4	168
%	66.66	30.95	2.38	99.99

Table 26 presents data of occipital hair whorl examined among 168 male Pentas. Only 2.38 per cent of them possess double whorl in the form of clockwise-anticlockwise. The rest are single whorl. 66.66 per cent of individuals show clockwise and 33.33 per cent show an anticlockwise whorl.

6. Middle Phalangeal Hair (M-P-H)

Presence of middle phalangeal hair as genetically controlled trait have been emphasised by many workers. The trait occurs both in the male and female irrespective of correlation with sex-hormone. Important contributions have been made by Bernstein and Winner, towards its possible genetic explanation. It is assumed that five sets of alleles are responsible for hair development on five fingers as A0 A1 A2 A3 A4. But these have different

expressivity and also controlled by different modifier genes. So, there occur variety of individuals with varying degree of occurrence of the trait.

Bachu studied age of onset of hair development among the Bungee school children and found that by 18 years the affected individuals show hair development. Retention of hairs on middle phalanges depends much on the environmental condition. Loss of hair takes place more quickly and frequently in the tribal and rural communities as these people are more engaged in rough manual work.

In the present sample 172 individuals were examined for occurrence of this trait. Out of this 96 or 55.81 per cent did not show any hair on the middle phalanges.

Table 27
COMBINATION OF DIGITS BILATERALLY WITH M-P-H

Combination		Right hand		Left hand	
		a	b	c	d
0	..	96	55.81	96	55.81
IV	..	20	11.48	12	6.99
III-IV	..	32	18.61	36	20.93
III-IV-V	..	5	4.65	8	4.65
II-III-IV-V	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
II-III-IV	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
IV-V	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
III	..	4	2.32	4	2.32

The affected individuals (44.9 per cent) show an array of varying frequencies in different combinations in the table on the previous page.

Table 28 data on bilateral variation in digit combination are presented. More hairy 4th digits are found on the right hand than on the left, but III digit

with hairs are found more on the left hand. Middle phalangeal hairs are

found to be more frequent on III—IV among all two-digital combination.

Table 14

SYMMETRY OF EAR Lobe ATTACHMENT

Combination of identical digits of both hands		Frequency of individuals	
		$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
0	..	24	65.8
IV	.	13	94
IV	.	12	18.0
III—IV—V	..	4	4.65
II—III—IV—V	..	4	2.32
I—II—IV	.	4	2.32
(V—V)	.	4	12
—III	..	4	2.42
Total—Symmetry	..	54.5	57.94
Total—Asymmetry	.	8	4.60
		62	62.54

I critical occurrence on both hand finds an important clue of tracing the range of expression of the genes involved. Presence of symmetry is as high as 65.34 per cent which display nature of more or less uniform bilateral expression (table 14).

The relative proportions of affected digits show 1:0.08:0.31:0.25 ratios in the sequence of IV>III>V>II.

7. Ear Lobe attachment

Study of attachment of the ear lobe as physical characteristic was probably first emphasized by Hilden in 1922, who tried to contradict the popular belief that attached ear lobe is a sign of criminality or mental retardation. Different authors tried to establish the

racial variation of 'free' ear lobe and 'adherent ear lobe'. By free ear lobe it is meant that the lobe is large and hang distinctly free from the lateral margin of face. Adherent or 'attached' ear lobe are usually small lobes or almost no lobe where the border of the ear rim slopes down to meet the face. There are, of course, several intergradations between these two extremes.

Wiener in 1937 and Powell and Whitney in the same year, published results of their pedigree analysis which indicated genetic significance of the trait. Some families showed distinctly Mendelian pair with 'free' dominant over the 'attached'. Quelprud 1941 claimed that 'attached' ear lobe "after

sex and age correction" is "really dominant". This observation is negatived by Gates as misinterpretation by

statistics. Wiener pointed out that this trait is governed by set of alleles with very 'complicated' action.

Table No. 15

TYPES OF EAR LOBE ATTACHMENT IN THE PENTIA HALVAS

No. Studied		Free	Attached	Intermediate
172	n	120	36	16
	%	69.65	20.93	9.41

Since then the trait has been widely used to show populational variation in genetic attributes. Also extremely simple method of observation has facilitated the study. One difficulty is faced while studying people in tribal localities is that the ear lobes are in most cases of womenfolk and in some cases of the males also are dilated through use of heavy ear ornaments from the early age. None of the males of present study had any dilated ear lobes.

Occurrence of different types of ear lobe among the Pentias is presented in table 15. In a sample of 172 male 69.65 per cent possess 'free' ear lobe while completely adherent or attached type is found among 20.93 per cent individuals. 'Intermediate' category contains persons whose ear lobes are partly attached and its frequency is very low (9.41 per cent). Low frequency of 'intermediate' grade indicates strong dominance of the 'free' ear lobe and also segregation in the genotype level.

8. Limb Dominance :

Member of claspimg hand, folding arms, instinctive preference of hand and eye, using one foot while stepping etc manifest dominance of one limb over the other. This has got no

association with muscular development. Different workers including the present workers have examined critically various aspect of association of these traits in cross sectional as well as family studies. Persons like Pons, Freire-Mata, Weiner, have indicated genetic association of hand claspimg and arm folding. But no plausible explanation could yet be furnished. Still these characteristics are widely utilized as genetic traits to delineate populational character. Observational methods are not very technical only caution is taken against behavioral biasness in performing the so accustomed practices.

A Personal instinctive habit in claspimg both the hands interlocking the fingers has created a dichotomy in the human population. Some will keep all their fingers of right hand over the corresponding ones of the left hand, and the others will do the opposite. In such cases, the former are known as 'right' hand claspers while the rest being 'left hand claspers'.

Data on all the four categories of limb dominance study are presented in the table 16 (next page). This contains two categories of persons manifesting hand claspimg, arm folding, handedness and eye dominance.

The *Pentia Halva* population exhibits 59.88 per cent of right hand clasper and 40.11 per cent left hand clasper

Preponderance of right clasper has been marked on all the human populations surveyed all over the world

Table No. 16
PATTERN OF BILATERAL LIMB DOMINANCE

Side	Hand clasping		Handedness		Arm folding		Eye dominance	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Right	163	59.88	168	97.60	75	44.20	112	65.20
Left	59	40.11	4	2.40	36	55.80	60	34.80

B *Handedness*—Handedness is a very popular term denoting preferential use of either hand in performing any one task like eating, writing or throwing. In childhood man is free from any social teaching when they use both the hands equally for all purposes. But through process of socialization, usually the use of left hand for many important purpose are denounced. But a left handed person neglects the habit of using left hand may not be for eating. So under the cover of right handed persons there are many left hand users which are difficult to locate. There are methods of measuring differential powers of hand by dynamometer.

Here a simple method was employed to detect the left hand use, by asking each individual to pick up stones and throw, alternatively by both the hands for three times. The results were recorded as 'R' or 'L'.

Overwhelming majority of individuals of right hand users were found 97.60 per cent and presented in table 16. In agricultural practices grip of the plough is usually held by left hand. Though these people are predominantly agriculturist they exhibit very low frequency of left handed persons, only as 2.40 per cent.

C *Arm folding*—Like hand clasping, manner of folding arms crosswise over the chest while standing makes an interesting behavioural study under genetic control.

Most of the populations studied so far yield a varying frequency of 'right' folder, from less than $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ th majority. The present data show 44.20 per cent of right arm folder leaving place of majority to the 'leftists' (table 16). An inverse relation of arm folding with hand clasping was suggested. Present data also corroborate the proposition.

D *Eye dominance*—Use of two eyes are not equal. For normal binocular vision, the distinction is not well marked. But in case of monocular vision or aiming for arrow shooting one particular eye is utilized. The use is unintentional and an unconscious behaviour. Such use or preference varies from person to person and also from parent's offspring. Though the hereditary nature of transmission of this behaviour is yet to be known, the trait makes an worthy survey for its probable association with other limb dominance.

Present sample contains 65.20 per cent person who displayed right eye

preference during the experiment. This makes a striking dissimilarity from other primitive populations of the same region.

8. Comparative lengths of the hand digits.

In human hand due to evolutionary specialization several changes have been brought about. Here only digital length will be discussed. As the pollex minimus and the medius have unchanged order of length, they are taken as reference standard. Only the length of index and annularis vary in different hands and even in two hands of a person. This has created a three formulae classification, known as manual digital formula like $2>4$, $2<4$

and $2=4$. This depends on the comparative lengths of the second and the fourth digits, keeping the third digit or the medius in the centre as referential axis. This also technically written as $d_{24} > d_{42}$, $d_{32} < d_{23}$ and $d_{24}=d_{42}$. Similarly, the varying length of ring finger has created other set of comparative measurements that with the little finger. The extension of the top of the little finger up to the last interphalangeal joint of the ring finger has again created three fold classification $4>5$, $4<5$ and $4=5$.

The present data of 172 Pentin Indians for two sets of digital formulae are presented in table below (table 17 and 18).

Table No. 17

COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF DIGITS OF HUMAN HAND - Digital Formulae

Side		$2>4$	$2<4$	$2=4$	Total
Right	n	0	164	8	172
	%	0	95.34	4.65	99.99
Left	n	4	159	16	172
	%	2.32	93.37	9.90	99.99
Symmetrical combination		N		160	
				%	
				93.02	

9.58% have the formula $4>2$. Whereas only 6.97% have $2=4$. Very low occurrence of $2<4$ is noticed. Taken together a three formulae classification of variation. Right hands show 95.34% of $2>2$ and 4.65% of $2=4$ fingers. And no $2>4$. This $2>4$ formulae are found only on the left hand (2.32%). The left hands show lesser frequency of $4>2$ (8.17%) but higher frequency of $2=4$ (9.90%).

In total sample there are high degree (93.02 per cent) of symmetrical occurrence of digital lengths making the asymmetry as low as 6.98 per cent (table 17)

Table 18

APPROACH OF THE LITTLE FINGER UPTO THE LAST JOINT OF RING FINGER

side	3>4		3<4	3=4	Total
Right	n	58	43	78	172
	%	50.23	24.41	45.35	95.99
Left	n	64	34	74	138
	%	37.29%	19.76	45.03	90.99
Total symmetrical combination:					
	n	166			
	%	84.88			

There are no statistical difference in the digital 4th 5th comparative lengths. Right hand shows 30.23% of 5>4, 24.41% of 5<4 and 45.35% of 5=4. Left hand varies with frequencies of 37.29% for 5>4, 19.76% for 5<4 and nearly equal in case of 5=4 with frequencies of 45.03%. Thus set of formulae is associated in form of 84.88% of individuals, reducing asymmetry combination only to 5.12%.

10. Comparative lengths of toe or Toe formula (TFO)

Like human digital two active long (1st and 2nd) toe projections for 1st and 2nd toes are also very important archetype of man through evolution. The hallux and 2nd toe is heavier and transmits most of body weight for varied at divergent standing posture or various gait conditions. The 3rd and 4th toe also performs some important function of force transmission particularly in a

foot with wide divergent hallux. The varying lengths of the second toe again has created three categories of human foot digital lengths the equally and inequality in length. Manner in 1952 and 1953 has designated the three types 1>2 as 'T' or 'trid', 1/2 'F' or 'biped' and 1=2 as 'O' or zero or 'lois' and. Since then these three sets of lengths is popularly known as TFO for ratio for toe. Here also the same classification has been adopted and the specified data are given in table 19.

Table 19

COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND TOES

side		T	F	O	Combination			
					TT	FP	OO	TO
Right	n	146	4	24	120	4	24	24
	%	63.2	2.32	13.95	81.08	2.71	16.20	13.95
Left	n	190	4	48				
	%	68.77	2.32	27.90				

Difference of appreciable nature is noticed between left and right foot in T and O formulae. The right foot showing 83.22 per cent of Tibial type whereas left foot shows 69.77 per cent. Both the feet show remarkable similarity in having Fibular type. Again left feet have exactly double the number of O type than the right feet.

On the basis of similar occurrence of same type of the pattern on both the

feet homotype and heterotypic combination have been sorted out. There is high occurrence of feet with TT or both tibial type (81.08 per cent). Next comes feet with OO combination, occurring as 16.20 per cent. FF combination is of very low occurrence 2.71 per cent. Heterotype combination occurs as TO type only, others are not found to occur. Altogether 18.95 per cent persons could be found having T type in the left foot and O type on the right foot.

Social Movements among Tribes in Eastern India with special reference to Orissa: A preliminary analysis*

L. K. MOHAPATRA

I. Scope of the Enquiry

India, like other developing countries, is facing rapid social, economic and political changes, especially since Independence in 1947. In this vast country with a variety of peoples including ethnic minorities called 'Scheduled Tribes', development has not been uniform. This is a legacy of the history, geography and ethnic background. Under similar circumstances, in Melanesia, Africa and America social movements have appeared among ethnic minorities, some of them even leading to violence. The objective of the present study is to determine the nature, types, activities, and trends of development of social movements among the Scheduled Tribes in Eastern India in recent years. The emphasis of the study will be on the post Independence social movements as embodied in

groups or associations among the tribes of Orissa. Eastern India for the purpose of this study comprises of Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar States. As the study is in progress, and most of the social movements covered being in various phases of growth, the present paper is in the nature of a formulation of problems to be investigated further, rather than a definitive statement on the results of the study. Another limitation is that some of the social movements as defined by us have not yet been investigated.

II. Definition and Nature of Social Movements.

In a recent sociological outline of social movements it is noted "A social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people band together in order to alter or supplant some

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portion of the existing culture or social order" (Cameron, P. 7) or "redistribute the power of control (within a society)" (*ibid.*, P. 9). In studying social movements one is interested in "examining what some men do when they deliberately attempt to foresee and to direct changes in their culture" (*ibid.*, P. 10). Similarly, Heberle conceives social movements as the "direct orientation toward a change in the social order, that is, in the patterns of human relations, in social institutions and social norms" (Heberle quoted in Smelser, P. 110 f. n.). When Ralph H. Turner refers to "Social movement..... fundamentally oriented toward rendering some change in the social structure and of sufficient force to develop organization" (quoted in Smelser P. 313 f. n.), he hits the same thing.

Cameron is careful to point out that his definition above does not pretend to be precise, especially about the number of people, duration, nature of "banding" together or the portion of the culture or social order. Smelser has shed important light on the nature of social movements while developing a theory of collective behaviour. He distinguished between norm-oriented beliefs and value-oriented beliefs, centring which may develop norm-oriented movements and value-oriented movements. A norm-oriented according to Smelser seeks to restore, protect, modify or create norms, whereas a value-oriented movement seeks to restore, protect, modify or create values (pp. 270, 315). Smelser does not commit these movements to "change" in the normative order or a kind of norms-economic religious, political, educational—may become the subject of the movement. A value-oriented movement involves a basic reconstitution of the relations between the self, nature, and society.

On the basis of these observations we may arrive at a working definition

of social movement thus: A Social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people, or an otherwise identifiable segment of the population, deliberately band together for collective action in order to alter, reconstitute, reinterpret, restore, protect, supplant or create some portions of their culture or social order, or to better their life-chances by redistributing the power of control in a society. These movements occasion repeated collective action over a length of time.

Social movements do not produce all the social change in a society. However, there may be a continuum from unobtrusive routine change to that through a social movement. Social movements may or may not involve political action and also need not necessarily follow from, or culminate in, political parties or associations. However, very often, directly or indirectly political action is involved.

Social movements do not arise all the time and everywhere. There are some predisposing circumstances, in Smelser's language, some conditions of 'structural conduciveness' and conditions of 'strain', as well as some 'precipitating factors' to account for the emergence of these movements. Dissatisfactions commonly lie at the root of social movements, though all dissatisfactions everywhere do not give rise to social movements. "The special conditions which do lead to the formation of social movements clearly include several factors. 1) Men must consciously recognize their dissatisfactions and share these with others. 2) Men must believe in their own ability to reshape the course of their lives. 3) Men must live under conditions in which the banding together to change something is both possible and plausibly effective" (Cameron P. 10). An-

other condition may be the sensitivity of leaders to situations of inequality not reducible to differences in wealth or education.

In the context of Messianic movements, Barber arrives at the conclusion that there is a "positive correlation of the Messianic movements and deprivation (of various types)" (Barber quoted in S. Chatter, P. 13). As "dissatisfaction" remains vague in the above quotation, similarly too Barber fails to specify the type of Messianic movements (many types) as correlated with deprivation of various types.

Though many every identifiable social and ethnic category has been represented "by a social movement" (Cameron, P. 42), it requires much more than "dissatisfaction" or "deprivation" to actualise a social movement. Here the remarks of Edwards in another context are very relevant: "Revolutions occur after the repressed classes for a considerable time, have been in the enjoyment of increasing prosperity. A marked increase of power, intelligence and wealth in the repressed portion of society is a phenomenon invariably found in the period preceding any great revolution" (Edwards quoted in Cameron P. 40).

Social mobility may be the usual outcome of such movements. But all movements are not directly oriented towards, or expressly striving for, higher social status. However when the members of a particular social movement are recruited from a specific ethnic, or otherwise identifiable social category in the position of a minority, status protest considerations seem to be unavoidable, and very often supply the initial motive force.

III. Social Movement in Eastern India—A Schematic History

Social mobility movements are known to India's lower Hindu castes

which resulted in Sanskritizing their caste practices. This trend spread to more castes during the British regime when the lower castes got better educational and economic opportunities, legal and political status. These movements became intensified due to the need to vindicate one's assumed-caste status at the time of census recording every ten years (e.g., The Paundri Kshatriya of Bengal Dutta (cited in Sinha, ed.). Communication facilities made wide-scale contacts and organization among far-flung sub-castes in various linguistic regions possible (cf. Sinha).

In 19th Century India, tribal groups were not much affected by such mobility movements. There were, however, some social movements in the nature of porm-oriented movements (among the Munda Santal and others) against the Hindu landlords and middlemen who were rackrenting or exploiting them, or dispossessing them of their land and in the nature of Messianic cults (e.g., the Tana Bhagat movement among the Oraon of Bihar). Social movements were few and far between.

Deliberately organized collective efforts for higher social status are not met with among the tribes till the Indian National Congress party introduced its workers in the villages.

It was thus brought some tribal movements into the national arena. For example, the Bhunia and Bhatia in Orissa into direct involvement in national politics. Some tribal workers among the Bhunia, Khasia and some nontribal Hindu workers, among the Kharia (Banerjee 1959, pp. 99-101), has been acquainted with the model of the political party organization and political meetings and the constructive reformatory work of the Congress. In the case of the Bhunia an organization was started about 1935 to get their claim of Kshatriya Hindu

warrior caste, next highest to Brahman status recognized by the upper Hindu castes of the region. The non-tribal workers among the Kharia started welfare activities in 1930 and established branches at two other places, but had to make this welfare organization the vanguard of a Kharia social movement for higher status (that of Hindu Kshatriya, and worshipper of lord Jagannath, better opportunities (land, rehabilitation, education etc.) and to eschew "evils" in their society (like drinking and Criminal activities).

But by and large during the 1930's and thereafter, local self-government and parliamentary democracy, economic and political privileges for tribes and castes, opening of new economic opportunities such as big gardens, factories, educational facilities and means of rapid communication and transportation, and not least, the living and working together of people of various tribal origins in towns, factories, mines, etc. all these prepared the ground for some sort of social movement in the context of feelings of relative deprivation, inequality and hence latent dissatisfaction directed against the dominant Hindu neighbours. The newly educated elite were very much in demand by political parties after Independence and consolidated tribal votes could easily act as a pressure-group in order to further the ends of tribal group concerned, and by inference, of its elite section. There find the Bhumi P. N. E. the Munda, the Gond, the Ho, the Kharia, the Bhattara the Kond, and the Jatpu-relatively educated and in part Hinduized or Christianized-turning to political action and bargaining as informal pressure groups, political associations, or even as an intertribal politics party. Among the lower caste Hindu, although the caste associations developed political dimensions as pressure groups, they never constitu-

ted themselves into an intercaste political party or even formal political associations on the basis of caste.

Socially and politically movements were transforming themselves into political pressure groups, as political parties and associations were emerging to take care of inter-ethnic tribal interests, the college and high school students were constituting themselves into student associations of Adivasi on an inter ethnic level or regional basis. Also some revival of tribal music, dance, and dress (though somewhat modified) was being fostered in some areas due to efforts of some erstwhile tribal political workers such as those among the Koya, Maria, Bonda, etc., in Koraput. The most significant development in this type of cultural revivalism seasoned with innovations has been the invention of indigenous scripts among the Saora in South Orissa, earlier among the Jatapu (a more educated largely Hinduized Kond section in Koraput District) and since the 1940's among the Santal of North Orissa. But the cultural creativity coupled with some form of revivalism has gone furthest among the Santal. The Santal innovator, a high school graduate who worked among the Santal industrial workers at the foremost steel city Jamshedpur, has also contributed epics, dramas, songs and reinterpreted Santal religion and page with moral and spiritual graftings. His followers have printed books, a monthly journal, text books for lower schools in the medium of the script and with a separate system of schools, curriculum, training schools, and specially trained teachers. A Socio educational and Association to foster these and a religious organization, Sarna Bharon Samit, to revive old communal worship in a sacred grove and other religious practices, have followed his lead. Santal traditional dancing certain forms of marriage etc. and indulgence in pleasure are considered

'evil', or 'sinful'. Thus a great Tradition of Redfield and Sanger formulation is just emerging. But this preoccupation with culture, creativity, educational programmes and religious revivals are all blessed by, and directly beneficial to, the Jharkhand Party, which fights for a state for the Adivasi, Scheduled Tribes; to be carved out of the states of Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh. Orissa, 1965, unpublished documents. *Manupatra*.

Thus, we find the emergence of several varieties of social movements among scheduled tribes after the Independence: a political party on inter-ethnic basis, regional political associations on inter-ethnic basis, pressure groups on ethnic basis as transformed social mobility movements, a revivalistic cultural movement, a cultural, creativity and regeneration movement and religious (largely revivalistic) movement as wings of the inter-ethnic political party, and student's associations as pressure groups. These are in addition to social mobility movements as among the Juang, the Kisan, the Baithudi or the Saora in Orissa, which were organized on the lines of regional associations of important local castes for status mobility.

The major tribes of the region, the Santal, the Kond, the Oraon, the Mundas, the Saora, the Bhumiya, the Ho, the Kharis, the Koya, the Kisan, the Jaraitara, the Bhumiya, the Bhumij, and even the Juang have already got involved in one or the other categories of social movements. It is not always correct to say that, as a whole, of an ethnic group like the Juang or the Saora are drawn into any such movement, but a particular section especially that which has chosen to live in the plains of Patna, or that which has received education in schools for a long time or the ones assembled at factory cities such as Jamshedpur or Bokaro within the tribal majority

areas. Only such tribes as the Semi-nomadic Birhor or Pahra, who are food gatherers, and some other small tribes like the Dhurwa and Doria of Western Orissa and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh, Hazra & Thum in Sindh, do not yet show any development towards social mobility movements or the like.

IV. Types of Social Movements

To construct a typology of so variegated social movements is a formidable task. There are various dimensions, several levels, overlapping bases, and even paradoxical purposes. In most cases we cannot insist on clear-cut exclusive types, but we have to take them as momentous though changing and shifting crystallizations in a continuum of socio-cultural processes. We may here differentiate between six bases of distinction, with their respective types.

1. Basis of distinction: Source of initiative

Types: Endogenous, exogenous

Description: Though it appears to be a very easy distinction, it actually is not so. For example, the Kharis social movement, in the nature of a norm-oriented movement to rectify the wrongs of the local landlords and others and a secure the elimination of the stigma as a criminal tribe, was started by a Kharis person himself. It is not, however, an activity has been initiated by a Kharis person (see 1959, PP 99). But a permanent Kharis organization, the Sabar Jetya Sabha, started in 1939 by a non-tribal social political worker carried on a social movement of the Kharis by organizing meetings, printing handbills, news-reports, etc. In order to boost the social status and economic opportunities of the Kharis as Hindu Sabar Kshatriya. This organization, with

the help of the Hindu Mission, go. many Kharis ritually initiated as Kshatriya in 1946 and 1947 *ibid.*, PP 100-101). If we deny the character of a social movement to this technically "exogenous" organization, we may be ignoring the crucial realities. Of similar nature is an inter-ethnic political association, Koraput District Adivasi, Scheduled Tribe Sangha (Association) organized by a communist worker in 1958 but having officials and membership drawn from among the local scheduled tribes, mainly the Kond and regularly carrying on campaigns against the wrongs of the money lenders, rentiers, and Government and for securing economic and political opportunities from the Government.

Similarly, when in the early 1950's the All Orissa Tribal Congress was organized on an inter-ethnic level, as a countermove to Bihar's Jharkhand Party claiming sizeable support in North Orissa, the inspiration came from the leaders of the Orissa Congress Party. Though the All-Orissa Tribal Congress was short-lived, it had some impact on the tribal society of Orissa. But this only proves how tenuous such a distinction may be. Whether it be indigenous or exogenous the tribal elites will have to be involved in any social movement in their society in order for it to be actualized and sustained.

- ii. Basis of distinction: Orientation to the existing culture or society.

Types: Reactory, conservative, revolutionary, nativist, revivalist or perpetuative; revitalization, reformist etc.

Description: The first four types are commonly met with. We may follow Cameron's definitions (*ibid.* PP 21-24). "Reactory movements are those advancing aims which were once held

by the general society but which have subsequently been laid aside", seeking to bring back "the good old days". This type is represented by a single restorative movement among the Munda of Sundargarh who have reverted back to tribal religion from Christianity. "Conservative movements seek to maintain the status quo . . . the purposes it holds have for some time been those of the society, but change is taking place, and the movement is organized to destroy this change." To the extent that the Santal Dharari Samiti or Sacred Grove Religious Organization of the Santal, centred at Jamshedpur, was organised to arrest the draft of the Santal and adversely of other tribes of the region towards Hinduism etc. (see above), it was a conservative movement. Revivatory movements accept some of the present purposes and methods of the existing order but wish to modify those change is desired but the existing structure as a whole is not threatened." All the movements organized for "improvement" or "purification" of the culture or social order by eliminating "evil" or "low" customs, beliefs, or institutions typically social mobility movements, can be characterized as "revivatory". On the other hand, a revolutionary movement is not merely certain portions of the culture or the social order but the whole of it is to be replaced with another more adequate or suitable. This substitution need not refer to the contents or components but to their organization and orientation. The Sacred Grove Religion in the form it is being popularized is not the traditional religion of the Santal or Munda. It is a religion infused with a new content and with new "Great Tradition" ways of worshipping the old deities. It represents a world view having very much in common with that of Hinduism while paradoxically rejecting numerous Hindu practices that had crept in Orissa, 1965 P 105. It is a revolutionary social movement.

actively considered, though it is a sheer revival from the Santal's point of view. Similarly the Jharkhand party working at a new state for the Adivas assumes this revolutionary nature. It seeks fundamentally, a redistribution of effective power of control and better life-chances of the Adivasis by emphasizing their "ethnic dominance in a region where divided in smaller ethnic groups, the Adivasis remain subject to others. Of similar character rising above petty ethnic differences, is another political association Korum District Adivasi Sangha which seeks to redress the position of the Adivasi as an exploited and suppressed class very much like the proletariat. Through the Adivasi Socio-Educational and Cultural Association is basically a cultural movement, mediated through an indigenous innovation the Old script. It stands for a new order in life through a distinctive pattern of education and curricular. Therefore this socio. movement also takes on the revolutionary character.

Following Linton's classification of 'nativistic' movements we may arrive at even finer variations of reactionary and conservative movements. For Linton a nativistic movement is "any conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of their culture" (Linton quoted in Hogue, P. 290). Starting out with distinctions between "revivalist" and "perpetuative" the visits and between "magical" and "rational nativism" (Linton, P. 290). "rational nativism" is "rational perpetuative nativism", the former seeks to accentuate cultural items when the society was free from foreign or intrusive influences thus helping to maintain self-respect of the members. This is exactly applicable to the revival of old religion traditions, food habits etc. which were in vogue before Christian waves penetrated the Mundas

Society in Sandargarh district. 'Rational perpetuative nativism' stresses the cultural items that symbolize the existence of the society as a separate entity. The distinctive traits, symbols, etc. which were going out of fashion in Santal society were seized upon for marking them off from the neighbouring Hindu society.

At the other extreme, there may be 'revitalization movement' as conceived by Wallace, that is, "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to create or reconstruct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace, quoted in Hogue, P. 290). This order closely resembles what Cameron designated "revolutionary" and Smelser called "value oriented". However an intermediate category such as 'revolutionary' or 'reformatory' is called for on empirical grounds.

iii. Basis of distinction: Portion of culture or social order dealt with.

Types: Norm-oriented movements, general social movements, value oriented movements.

Description: According to Smelser norm-oriented movements are concerned with the norms or regulatory principles specific facilities to be secured, obstacles removed. Value-oriented movements, however, are concerned with values or "the most general statements of ultimate ends which go to social action" (P. 26). with a worldview or ideology (see section II above). He notes that many agrarian movements commonly designated as "social movements" or "reform movements" are actually norm-oriented movements. The agitation to abolish the specific Ashram residential with craft orientation to schools in Orissa by the educated scheduled tribal class is a norm-oriented movement. Similar is the case with the Kharia agitating to be eliminated from the list of criminal tribes or the

Bhumi) taking collective action to secure recognition as Kshatriya and exclusion of the Bhumi from the list of Scheduled Tribes.

Smelser distinguished movements or ended towards specific norms from those more general social movements which possess 'neither sufficiently crystallized beliefs nor a sufficient degree of mobilization to fall in the category of collective outbursts. But they provide a back-drop from which social movements are created and movements emanate' (p. 273). Such general social movements are, for instance, labour movements, leading to specific agitations for normative change such as shorter hours or the humanisation movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries leading to the abolition of slavery and the like. Similarly, general may be considered some social movements incorporated in District Adivasi Associations of Kharabandi and Koraput Adivasi Congress, or the Adil Sabar Jatiya for the Kharia.

Smelser gives some examples of value oriented belief informing value oriented movements. Marxism, Leninism, Nazism, religious and secular beliefs associated with causes of withdrawal benefits associated with 'nationalist' movements those behind revaluation movements are associated with religious and nationalist beliefs (as frequently among Asian, African and Latin American societies, or in nationalist movements) (p. 120). 'Value oriented beliefs are on the one hand, and labels which are in direct contrast of the here now decay and instability' (p. 128). Considered from this angle the Bharatbandh Party, the Samta Bharat Senid, and the Adil Sabar Jatiya (Educational and Cultural Association) tend to participate severally and jointly in such a value oriented movement in creating an inter ethnic sub-national

state entity 'Adil Sabar' a state dominated by the Adil Sabar, etc. Similarly, though implicitly, the Communist organised Koraput District Adil Sabar Sangha strives to bring about a new world of Marxist hue by passing resolutions and organizing agitations about peasant and labour problems, problems of peace in the world and solidarity of the Adil Sabar overriding all ethnic differences, etc. Another movement of this type was raising for several years in the 1940's and 50's among the Kharia and others in southern U. P., Western Bihar and eastern Madhya Pradesh inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings a Gond lady saint sought to reorient and refine Gond religion, magic and social customs. It had limited success (Mahapatra, 1966, Mahapatra).

When some erstwhile Christian Mundas of Sundargarh or some Kond of Phulbani organize a movement to reconvert the tribesmen to the old Munda religion or to a compromise between Hinduism and Kond religion the movements are nothing but value oriented.

a. Basis of distinction: Religion or religion or cult

Types: Religious, Secular and the relation to religion.

Description: Though there are only 3 movements which may primarily be called 'religious' the others in the overwhelming proportion are primarily secular. This means that often a religious movement does have a secular dimension or aspect and vice-versa.

a. Basis of distinction: Political or

Types: Political, Nonpolitical, Hybrid

Description: As is apparent, the present social movements have been in almost all cases either political, or

quasi political in character—Those which are expressly political a party, Adivasi associations at the all Orissa or District level. The political associations do not seek changes focussed on the members only, but also on the society at large, aiming ultimately at redistribution of power. The ones thinly veiled as non-political are the Cultural Association for the Santal where it is specifically provided in the constitution that active members of any political party cannot hold any office in the Association, the Sarni Dharam Samet, and the Adivasi students association at the all Orissa or District level. There are a few others such as the Bhumaj Kshatriya Association which were originally not organized as political groups, but at present and in this case since 1958 have had to reorient their thinking and action in order to co-operate with politicized groups for common objectives regarding the Adivasi. The social mobility movements and the other two religious movements are either already to some extent politically involved at the local, district or State level or are potentially so as pressure groups for their special interests.

Finally we must give some attention to the peculiar phenomenon of rivalry between two associations or movements so much so that one owes its very existence to the other. This is true of the two associations, political in nature serving the same general cause of economic political opportunities and solidarity of the Adivasi population of Koraput district. One of them was inspired by the Communists and the other by the National Congress. It is irrelevant that the latter was also the spokesman for the Bhatrian ethnic group, in its efforts to be accepted as a scheduled tribe. Similar is the juxtaposition of the All Orissa Adivasi Congress against the

Jharkhand Party. Such Secondary movements born in rivalry with personalities or political parties may be called rivalistic. A similar rivalistic movement has given rise to another reformative association of the Kond in Phulbani in recent years.

(vi) Basis of distinction : Orientation as minority

(vii) Types : Emulation re-forming movements, solidarity-reinforcing movements

Description This distinction is based on highly fruitful insights into the evolving social movements in Santal society, developed by Orans

(Orans, 1963)

Orans finds that in the 19th century the richer, traditional hereditary elite were already trying to emulate the higher caste Hindus. After the failure of the 1935-37 Santal revolt the process of Hinduization became stronger "perhaps in part because the path to higher rank through military force and political action seemed closed". A Hinduized sect under the Kherwar the heroic name of the Santal movement adopted the sacred thread and other distinctive Hindu symbols of high rank, and gave up meat eating (Orans, 1963 PP 36-37). However, there were counter forces to resist assimilation even in this sectarian manner which strengthened along with the emergence of educated Santals and the opening of a "political rank path" after provincial democracy was introduced in the 1930's and parliamentary seats were reserved for tribes like the Santals. This avenue to political privileges and consequent gains in the economic and social status could be widened and maintained only if the solidarity of the Santal ethnic group were developed and if they made common cause on important issues. We have already noted

the invention of a script for the Santal and reorientation of the tribal religion and initiation of the powerful cultural movements. The educated and largely Christianized tribal elite of South Bihar from Mundas Oraon and Santal groups seized upon this ferment and soon after Independence formed the Jharkhand party of the Scheduled Tribes with the avowed objective of founding a State for the Adivasi.

Thus, while there were emulation-reinforcing movements in the 19th century and early 20th century under the leadership of wealthy aristocratic leadership, since the days of democratic opportunities and constitutional privileges for the Adivasi, especially since Independence, solidarity-reinforcing movements have taken their place in Santal and some other tribes in South Bihar and North Orissa. This solidarity is sought not merely on the level of the specific ethnic group by emphasizing distinctive characteristics, customs and institutions, but also on an inter-ethnic level, that of the generalized "Adivasi" as a minority.

The same process is known to have occurred among the Bhumi on whom detailed documentation is available. The emulation oriented movement seeking to incorporate the Bhumi in Hindu society as Kshatriya under the Bhumi Kshatriya Association was dramatically renamed Bhumi Adivasi Kshatriya Association in 1958 (Sinha). The story is repeated among the Kharia of West Bengal who are striving for solidarity and distinctive self identification as opposed to the emulation of the Hindu society (Banerjee 1962).

All the political association of the Adivasi at the district or State level, the Adivasi Students' Associations at the district and State level are also solidarity-reinforcing movements to

attain the inter-ethnic solidarity of the Adivasi.

However, there are some emulated social mobility movements confined to a specific ethnic group or its particular section, as among the Juang, Kond, Gond, Bathudi, Kisan etc. etc. in the Santal society in some areas or areas such as that of Madhu in Purulia district. Such emulation-reinforcing movements are still going on Banerjee and Dasgupta in Sinha).

These several typologies given above do not bring out all the dimensions of the social movements among the Scheduled Tribes of Eastern India. A large movement may fall in several "types" at the same time as there may be differential orientation to different sections of the existing culture, as it grows, it tends to embody several purposes for different sections of the supporters.

V. Organization of Social Movements

We may consider here recruitment of members, leadership, and mechanisms of communication. We find two ways of recruitment of new members. Exclusive membership is the rule in secret societies and in social mobility movements membership is confined to a specific ethnic group or class or its section; in some political associations, there is provision for non-tribe members with whom the movement superficially appears to be not a closed one. A proselytizing movement sends out missionaries to gather new members and thus characterizes the religious and cultural associations started among the Santal, Munda and Kond though restricted on principle to the Adivasi, coercive movements like the trade unions claiming to represent some whole category of people are

not developed among the Adivasi on formal level, though informally in certain localities such coercion is not ruled out for solidarity oriented political associations, especially imbued with a powerful ideology.

There is such ingrained force of ethnic loyalties that the political associations with an ideology have to upbraid their member to rise above such petty loyalties to achieve the solidarity of the Adivasi as a whole. Though membership is theoretically open to all Adivasi in many movements, as in the Sarva Dharma Samiti or other cultural associations as well as in political associations, the core membership is still drawn from some particular ethnic group and in a particular area.

As has been noted in Sections II and IV, some of the movements have been started by individual leaders, such as Raj Mohini Devi among the Gond, Raghunath Murmu among the Santal, Jaipal Singh among the Adivasi of Chotanagpur and Northern Orissa. These leaders have risen to power and influence by inspiring loyalties through personal qualities and achievements. The leadership they exercised may be called "charismatic" following Max Weber. Similar is the leadership of Srara Tilring Munda, Manu Munda of Sundargarh who is converting Munda and some other Adivasi Christians back to the tribal religion and customs. It is found that in the cultural associations started by Murmu or the Munda Sabha Association started by followers of Sukra T. M. Munda, the leaders themselves do not retain formal authority but pass on the routine responsibilities to trusted disciples. As, however, the cultural associations started by Murmu have grown very large with headquarters and branches at district, subdivision, pargana or

even village level, bureaucratization is inevitable. With division of labour and responsibilities, maintenance of records and accounts, propaganda and extension activities, recruitment of members, election of office-holders, enforcement of Sarva code, holding of conference, etc. there is bound to be "routinization of charisma", not merely devolution or decentralization of authority. As Cameron notes, "Leadership of movements of ten proceeds rapidly from Charisma to legal or traditional authority" (P. 92).

When we come to the political associations, we meet with only one charismatic leader Jaipal Singh, a Christian Oxford educated Munda who was hailed as Marang Gomke (the Great Faleomed one). He in turn conferred on Murmu the honour of being addressed as Guru Gomke the Faleomed Guru. In Jaipal Singh's Jharkhand Party bureaucratization set in early. There were the central office, district and subdivisional offices with the paraphernalia of election and office holders. This was also to be found in other political as well as cultural associations. The typically social mobility movements are also organized on the lines of a corporation or political party organization the master model being the National Congress Organization.

In all of the movements discussed, illiterate educated members have assumed leadership, except in the case of the Gond religious movement where the saint lady was illiterate. While in political and cultural associations the leadership, whether charismatic or bureaucratic always rested on the shoulders of the educated emergent elite drawn from traditional leaders as well as commoners' families, the social mobility movements have had different origin. As in the case of

the Bhumij, Gond, Santal, Kisan, Munda, and Kharis movements, both traditional leaders and some educated young men guided the affairs, and if the movement were older, the traditional leaders dominated. When we came to the post-Independence era, when solidarity and ethnic distinctiveness as against the neighbours were emphasized, the role of the emerging educated elite, became more important and even crucial. Students, especially of high schools and lately of colleges have played an important role in social movements among the Kharis, Santal, Oraon, and many other groups.

We may as well as here refer to non-tribal leaders in social movements, who are emulated by the tribal elite to be in a position to take over leadership. Cameron evaluates the situation realistically: "People who are really down-trodden do not often form political movements, or indeed anything except escape movement. Where movements have emerged representing the depressed classes in a society they have often been led by people of higher status and financial support has often come from outside" (Cameron, p. 39).

Since Independence, written statements, handbills, appeals, and books specially prepared in the manner of Hindi epics, myths, etc. in regional scripts or their own script, opera, drama in their own languages, other symbols of identification like flags of distinctive designs, badges, and even special form of saluting have been used in some social movements, political or not. Processions, meetings and conferences with delegates from several regions, entertainments with cultural shows managed with a corps of volunteers all these reflect the scale as well as the ramifications of a large

movement, which we come across in the Jharkhand Party, Cultural Associations of the Santal, mobility movements of the Kisan, and others. Proceedings of the conferences or annual meeting are printed and distributed, often in their own languages.

Another development is also visible. All the movements in the form of political party or association or ethnic group association (or social mobility) or cultural associations want to claim a larger share of grants and other facilities from the Government and official agencies. There is invariably a heightened spurt of activities, printing and distributing of memoranda and bulletins, tendering of application and statements etc. whenever a commission or important committee is appointed by the Central Government. Such were the Backward Classes Commission in 1953-55, the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission in 1960-61 and lately, the Lokur Committee in 1966 to determine the desirability of retaining certain ethnic groups in the category of scheduled tribes.

As the present educated leadership stands to gain in every way if the grants subsidies and other economic and political privileges are maintained or increased, there is constant pressure on the Government through all types of social movements. Indeed, it is suspected, to be corroborated by further investigations that some groups or associations are formed just before an important commission or committee visits the area, so that these bodies may be recognized as the spokesmen of the specific area or people and as the recipients of forthcoming governmental favours and assistance. There is thus the clear possibility that the efforts of

social mobility movements so far as they seek a high status in the Hindu society, to be recognized by the Hindus will be frustrating. For continuing to claim privileges of the Advans largely runs counter to the requirements of high caste status. The Gond, who are accepted as a high caste in many areas of Orissa, are facing the same dilemma, as they are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. What is called by Orans "emulation-solidarity conflict" may become more widespread or intensified under certain circumstances, that is, if the Hindu society does not recognize the anomalous status of Hindu Advans like Hindu Sabar (Kharis) or Advans Khatris (Bhumis), and if wealth, education, and occupation do not reinforce the old, or produce new cleavages in specific tribal societies or at the intertribal Advans level to be exploited by political parties.

Problems for Study

In this rapid, preliminary survey it has not been possible to scratch the surface of some fundamental problems concerning social movements. Under what predisposing circumstances and precipitating factors do social movements of a particular type arise? What is the relation between different types of movements in a specific region? Why in this particular place or moment? Why do some food gatherers and other backward societies not initiate social movements except perhaps some form of rebellion or secret society or cult of withdrawal?

Oran, says, creative cultural movements emerged in a particularly acute phase of emulation solidarity conflict among the Santal (1965, PP. 103-104). Is it true in other tribes, and tribal societies also? What is the pattern of relationship between the traditional ascription-oriented and

modern achievement-oriented elite and how does this complex relationship affect the directions of a social movement? What is their differential role in the emergence and development of a Great Tradition? What role does the differential perception of social realities and life-chances play in the emergence of social movements?

It is hoped that in further studies some of these problems will be taken up and tackled.

Strategy Implications for Tribal Development.

Many agencies are working amongst and for the development of the tribes with various objectives in view. These objectives are not necessarily against the interests of the tribesmen as conceived by their elites, with power and authority vested by tradition, or with prestige and influence acquired through education or manipulation of the administration or welfare agencies. To what extent and in which ways, these objectives are wholeheartedly accepted or even understood to be in their ultimate interests by the benighted masses among the tribes this is another matter. But this need not pose a serious problem to the administrators or policy makers. For, till the masses are educated and conscious of their own interests to some extent, the elites will have to fulfil their essential roles of leadership and guidance and we have to accept this situation for a pretty long time. And we must remember the cardinal principles of social and cultural autonomy of the tribal peoples to which our Indian state is committed. If the leaders want the society and culture to develop in a particular way, others should have hardly any room for objection. The only limitations in their strivings should be those already imposed by our constitution.

The point to be clarified here is the concept of leadership. Without going into details, we may differentiate the strictly speaking political representatives in the parliamentary system of democracy from the wider group of elites who exercise functions of leadership in other fields including the political field. The democratic representatives need not always be involved in all the social movements within a tribal Community or amongst several tribal communities whom they are supposed to represent. To cite only one recent example let us take the widespread and deep-seated movement of the Bhuiyan women against casteilities and clandestine liquor sales ruining their economy and family life in the late 1960's. The local M. L. A. not only did not do anything about it but also he was unaware of it. And even if he personally sympathized with this movement, he

could not have done anything, if such public sympathy or action would run counter to the party policy to which he must conform in a party based democracy. Similarly, other movements to revitalize or reform the social customs or cultural practices may leave the political representatives high and dry. But the administrators and policy makers should attach importance to these social movements as conscious attempts to develop the tribal groups in their own ways, largely through mobilization of their own resources. They should also not hesitate to further facilitate or reinforce these attempts as much as possible, if these fall in line with the national objectives. For example, in extending educational facilities and in fighting bonded labour or other forms of concealed exploitation, such social movements can be of great aid and invited to help.

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Liquor among the Dongria Kondh of Orissa

P S DAS PATNAIK

The Dongria Kondh are one of the most primitive and backward tribes of Orissa. They are easily distinguished by their very quaint attire, the males clad in lion cloth wearing nose rings over their moustaches and sometimes in addition a sharp and polished white bone thrust through the cartilage of the nose two long and curved daggers hanging down the thighs and by their proud and dignified bearing. They are a sub-tribe of kondh numbering about 5,618 most of whom have not been touched by census operation. They live on the top of the Niyamgiri mountains which lie in the Kalva singhpur Bissam-Cuttack, Muniguda and Biswanathpur Blocks in the Koraput district and in the Lanjigarh area of the Kalahandi district. They maintain themselves by growing a lot of plantain, jackfruit, orange, pineapple, turmeric and castor all of which they make over to the people of the Domb Caste for a song, a few pegs (drinks) of illicitly distilled liquor, or a few rupees or their usual requirements of salt, tobacco, dried fish, clothes, ornaments, etc. Shifting cultivation, being their main occupation, they grow millet,

kosa and kandal (red gram) which they consume. As the mountains are sparsely populated and the Dongria Kondh owe all the hill slopes demarcated by unwritten tribal custom among the different villages there and are traditionally reputed as fruit growers they should, in the fitness of things be rich but they live in ramshackle huts in poverty and squalor. The Dongria Kondh are wretchedly poor because they are not able to market their produce at any reasonable price. Some people of the Scheduled Caste, Domb also called Pano elsewhere generally hailing from Kalahandi have settled down among them on the hills and taking advantage of the inaccessibility of the area, the simplicity of the Dongria Kondh, their ignorance, superstition, weakness for drink, lack of credit facilities, their isolation from the rest of the world, have been exploiting the Kondh to an unimaginable degree and carrying away all the produce from their trees and their fields.

Whatever may be the fact, the high terrain upon which the Dongria Kondh inhabit, the topography, the climatic factor, etc. have shaped their living

conditions and made them perpetual drunkards. The very savour of Mahua-liquor (*Hept Kafu*) and sago palm juice (*Mada Kola*) make the Kondh almost wild. Liquor has special charm for them. Except a few, all are habituated to drink and will avail any opportunity, irrespective of the distance of either their shop or sago-palm-trees and condition of the purse. They are so much addicted to it that they can forego their meals. For example an old man of Kuria village said "salpa-re is more than my wife, I can forego my wife but not the salpa-re".

Types and Processing of Liquor

Liquor is locally called *Kolu*. Various kinds of liquor are brewed domestically such as *Arkhi Kola*, *Mahua liquor*, *Amba Kola*, *Mango liquor*, *Panasa Kola*, *Jackfruit*, *Li-gu-er*, *Kodol Kola* (plantain liquor) and *Gada Kola* (Molasses liquor). Sago palm juice *Mada Kola* an intoxicating drink is collected from locally available sago palm trees.

Arkhi is secretly brewed, but not on large scale. Domestic brewing being prohibited the Kondh are afraid of local preparation and therefore depend upon the market and their next door neighbours, the Domb. The Domb are experts in brewing *Arkhi* and make it a professional source of income. Some of the Domb purchase *Arkhi* from the Ecclesiastical liquor shops at the foot of hills and resell it in their respective villages at a higher cost. The Kondh also on special occasions like *Manda-Rant* festival, *Maria-Parab* marriage and death ceremonies, buy *Arkhi* from the Domb, with the help of the Domb.

Mahua is purchased at the rate of 75 N P from the local market or collected from the forest. About 5 to 6 kg of *Mahua* is kept in water in an earthen-pot for a week or until it is

fermented after which it is rinsed and kept in another pot. About a bucket of water is poured and another clay pot is dumped over it. The pot at the bottom is entirely plastered at the outside with clay. An oven is prepared at the bank of the stream and both the pots are placed over the fire. A hole is made at the body of the pot placed below through which one end of a hollow bamboo is inserted. Another end of the bamboo is inserted in another pot placed on the ground beside the fire-pot. Inside that pot herbs of *Badham* (Broom stick), roots of *Paintura* tree are kept and a napkin is covered over the rim of the pot. Clay is smeared over that pot also. Thus with proper heat smoke is formed which does not get an outlet to go out but passes through the hollow bamboo to the other pot placed nearby. Cold water is sprinkled over the body of the pot to cool the heated smoke which ultimately turns into water and becomes liquor. It gets more intoxicated with the addition of various herbs and roots, stated earlier.

The same process is adopted while preparing liquor from other types of fruits and molasses. Fruit liquor is prepared out of ripe variety and only after extraction of juice. More the Juice is fermented, the more it is intoxicated. The same roots and herbs are also added to it to make it palatable and more intoxicant. Liquor from the fruits and molasses is prepared only by the well-to-do families and as such it becomes a luxuriant alcoholic drink. Sometimes, a few families prepare this liquor from the forest and sell it to others if there is any surplus.

Duri Kola Beer is prepared out of *Kee-rapt-arka*, and *kangu*. Raw seeds are made powder and diluted with water to make a paste. The paste being

covered in a *Soft* leaf cup is kept hanging for a fortnight to make dry completely. Within this estimated period the paste dries up which can be broken into pieces. Each piece is again made powder and soaked with water in a container for 8 to 10 days. This process enriches the alcoholic value and makes it more sour. Thus after 8 to 10 days a sediment is formed at the bottom and the water over it is used as *Duri Kafu*. When the first stock is exhausted again water is poured and kept for 8 to 10 days. Thus the process continues for two months after which the sediment loses alcoholic value.

Excepting these country-made liquors, Sago-Palm Juice (Juice of *Salpa* trees) is used as intoxicant. *Salpa* trees wildly grow on the top of the hills and are possessed by a family according to the customary division of land areas. These trees are considered a prized possession of the family which are inherited since generations. Trespassing into any body's tree is seriously viewed to the extent that the trespasser may risk his life. However, the shoots of the tree come out only from the month of October onwards and remain up to March. After this period ample juice is available from each shoot. Each shoot is cut and the juice trickles down in a container, tied beneath it. The juice at the increasing heat of the sun accumulates more of alcoholic substance and becomes more intoxicating. Moreover, to add to it more alcoholic value roots of *Kozia* plant, *Kanukute* plant and broom stick plant are added to it. The entire process gives a tremendous alcoholic relief and at the same time fulfills the appetite of the consumers, as it is told

Toddy tapping is not a common practice in the area because of less growth of such trees. Moreover, the local people are not conversant either

in climbing the trees or in tapping the toddy. The experts are therefore, called upon in exchange of wage to tap the toddy from the limited trees, mainly found in the forest.

Customs, Norms, belief and Practice associated with the use of liquor.

Liquor in any form is not socially prohibited irrespective of sex and age. A child picks up the habit, when he develops senses. It is a common practice approved by the society. Mahua-liquor is considered to be the best alcoholic drink and taken throughout the year irrespective of sex. Fruit liquor is seasonal and taken only by those who can afford to prepare or afford to purchase at the rate of Rs 2 per bottle. Beer is taken only during harvest of various crops. Sago palm juice is taken for four months.

Usually the male members are habitual drunkards and consume more. The females drink only during harvest and on social feasts and festivals. Children, above six years of age, generally drink sago-palm juice and casually drink Mahua-liquor.

During and after harvest, the people celebrate most of their social and religious functions and therefore consume liquor to a larger extent. But its consumption becomes less during lean months when the people face acute economic distress. Despite paucity of fund, the habitual drunkards do not hesitate to drink by incurring loans or mortgaging their cropped field and fruit bearing trees.

Liquor is always taken in a group. The eldest one serves it to others in leaf cups. From the share the eldest member first offers a little of it to the Mother-goddess (*Barumati*) and pours it on the ground. Then he trickles the liquor thrice in his fingers above his head. This he offers to *Nyam Raja*,

the great God of Nivamgiri hills. After offering he touches the leaf cup in his forehead and drinks. Once he starts, other follow him. Even in individual consumption the same norms are observed. In case of sago-palm juice, the owner of the tree first sips to prove that it is not poisonous and then offers to the participants. In case of trespassing, the defaulter is assaulted. It is a belief that if the trespasser dies after taking sago palm juice he becomes Dumba ghost and victimises the wife.

Liquor is a must in all the Kondh worship. There is hardly any religious ceremony or ritual in which Mahua liquor is not used. Each family believes that liquor is not only religious necessity but a means to please gods. The priest must be drunk well before probing himself in the spiritual world. Liquor is, therefore, offered to gods as well as to the priest.

Liquor is an important item in all the ceremonies connected with death. On the day of 'Dasha' (10th day of the death), mourners assemble and drink with fullest content.

Liquor has religious and social significance in the marriage ceremony too. It is a prestigious issue both for the parents of bride and groom. It is included in bride price a item and on the other hand the bride's father is also to entertain large number of guests with liquor. Barrels of liquor are consumed in the marriage ceremony. Liquor is offered to *Vigam Raja Sita Penna* and other deities in the marriage ceremony. The leaf cup moves round round and round till every one has drunk to his full capacity. Their financial conditions determine the quantity to be supplied. On average Rs 150 to Rs 200 are spent on liquor at the time of marriage by both the parties.

Mahua liquor has a still more important place in the Kondh's social life. A leaf cup full of liquor is a medium of social intercourse. It creates and sustains friendship. It is through which Sor System (Bond friends) is made and two friends become bosom to each other. Old friends' accidental meeting culminates in a mutual exchange of liquor cups. A casual meeting between two strangers at the liquor shop may lead to permanent friendship. A happy drink is the best form of approachment between strange neighbours or friends. All hospitality and reception have got no meaning without liquor. Liquor is an energetic solace for all dance and festivals. At the Kondh dances, therefore begin with drink. Not only men, but women also drink to enjoy the happy moment. It is main item in tribal feasts. In the Panchayat meetings, the participants are more keen for drinking than to the usual proceedings. The whole village however meets the expenditure on drink in case the Panchayat has to decide an inter-village dispute. In most of their verdicts the Panchayat awards penalty of a communal feast and drink.

In actual practice magic and drink are interlinked among the Kondh. A *Dushari* (Magician) or a *Bejun* (shaman) must drink excessively for it is believed that a magician invokes his mysterious wisdom and probes into the world of evil spirits with the help of liquor. Most of his magical operations are preceded by drink. He is not paid in cash but in the form of liquor.

Mahua liquor is used as medicine to cure various disease. The Kondh believe that disease are not due to any infection or contagion, but due to the arrogance of various deities and spirits who are looming in nature. In order to prevent or cure these natural diseases, benevolent gods and goddesses must be propitiated and appeased. To appease them liquor is indispensable.

Thus liquor plays a vital role in the tribal life. The Kondh feel that sago palm juice and Mahua liquor have got food value. Fresh distilled liquor has got more food value. Liquor is an energetic stimulant which breaks the monotony and a food which satisfies the starving belly. It is a recognized means of relaxation and lessening strain. Being shifting-cultivators, they undertake enough of hazardous jobs. They ransack the forests to eke out their livelihood. They ascend and descend the hill tops by going and coming from the fair-price and market centres. All these strains are to be lessened and liquor is therefore a charming energetic drink for all these strenuous.

Drinking and its effect

About 82 per cent of the families surveyed were found having deficit budget, though it has not been possible to establish any direct relationship between debt and drink yet it is obvious that if expenditure on liquor could be reduced, many families could balance their budget. I recorded 32 transactions of the Dongria Kondh with the Domb. Nearly 68, i.e. about 73 per cent of the transactions were in return of liquor. The Domb illicitly distilled liquor, offered it to the Kondh and took leases of jack fruit trees and sometimes change trees and pine apple gardens in return of liquor. In one instance 1 acre of turmeric field was leased out for pineapple garden was leased out for a year in return for 25 bottles of liquor. In another 12 jack-fruit trees were leased out for a year for 7 bottles of liquor. In another instance $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of pineapple garden was leased out for a year in return for 10 bottles of liquor. In majority of the cases, liquor has been sought in exchange of jack fruit and orange trees. The inter-village streets are occupied by the Domb with jars of liquor during market days. They secretly sit at the back of the

bushes and entice the Kondh with liquor bottles. All the surplus produce brought by the Kondh are knocked off by the Domb in exchange of liquor. The Domb are well informed of each feast and festival of the Kondh. They, therefore, before the commencement of any function of any family in the village pre-contract with the owner to supply the required quota of liquor. The owner gets the exact requirement at his threshold but cannot pay the cost. He mortgages his fruit-bearing trees, orchard or turmeric field. During harvest, the yield is carried away by the Domb before the tumultuous days of the Kondh.

I recorded seven cases of accidents, who sustained vital injuries by taking liquor. Of course there was no case of death. But out of seven cases three cases are grave, the injured persons become invalid.

I recorded five cases where trespassers have been assaulted. Especially, one case requires mentioning. It was a chilly night in the month of December. I had to open the door of my camp at the screaming sound of a man. I flashed my torch over him and found with astonishment that his entire body was in pools of blood. The pharmacist in charge of Primary Health Centre was called upon who rushed in and gave all possible medical relief. The victim was Tode Zakiska who trespassed for sago palm juice and was assaulted by his uncle, Kona Zakiska in village Khambesi. When Tode was drinking the juice stealthily, Kona's son Budda saw it and intimidated the matter to his father. Both father and son charged Tode for his fault but the latter did not admit. There were some altercations and ultimately Tode was severely assaulted with the axe (Tangia). The matter was reported to the police. Two police constables appeared in the village on the next morning who arrested both the alleged

and the victim. The case was decided on the way to the police station with the intervention of village messenger Barak. They were released. It was

told that Rs 120 was bridged to the police and the Barik got Rs 38 as commission. Again a meeting was convened on emergency footing at the village level. Both the alleged and the victim were fined Rs 80 which perhaps could provide the cost of a buffalo. The buffalo was supplied by the Barik and a feast was organized and the matter came to an end with the rapprochement of both the victor and the vanquished. Such instances of criminalities for taking Mahua liquor and sago-palm juice are frequent. There are also instances of in-group fighting over the issue of taking liquor.

Thus the social evils of drink are glaring among the Dongria Kondh. The erotic effect of alcohol leads to many maladjustments in the family. Moreover the liquor dealer is often a money lender, who also procures the surplus forest and agricultural products of the tribals. He is interested mainly in keeping the tribals in an easy prey to his tricky dealings.

However alcoholic drink is a great social evil, which is gradually eroding the economy of the community. But without that the community cannot survive. It is a fact that the tribals do drink and drinking in the tribal culture is a must but not an alternative choice, as it gives them nourishment and zest in life. It is therefore, necessary that the Anthropologists and the Administrators should seriously think of this problem.

To combat this liquor dealing monopoly of the Domb, the marketing centres under Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation Ltd. may act as wholesale supplier of liquor to the tribals. The Domb may be appointed as Commission Agents to deliver liquor to the tribals at a rate fixed by the centre. This may reduce exploitation to some extent. In the meanwhile a team of workers may be appointed to analyse the benefits and potentialities of the drink usually purchased by the tribals. Through research an unharmed drug may be invented to substitute alcoholic drink to solve the liquor problem of the tribals.

Study on Hypoxia of high attitude among the Tibetan refugees in Orissa

S. PATEL

Growth difference, which are racial in character, result generally in an overall increase or decrease in the rate of growth with probably little effect on sequence or rate at specific ages (Roberts, 1960). Further more environmental factors, particularly disease and nutrition, are often quite specific resulting in severe retardation of growth under adverse conditions and accelerated growth under favourable conditions (Tanner, 1952). Temperature or emotional states may also effect growth, but such environmental stresses are considered to be secondary being primary attributed to nutritional stress.

Among the environmental stress, which have not been investigated in relation to human growth is the hypoxia produced by living at high altitudes. Studies on animal growth under condition of hypoxia show

rather severe retardation of normal growth (Van der & Stickney, 1963). Insufficient data on human growth throw some light on definite conclusions. Growth studies on two Peruvian populations living slightly above 3,000 meters showed them to be quite retarded in adolescent development compared to European groups (Schraer and Newman, 1958; Quevedo 1949).

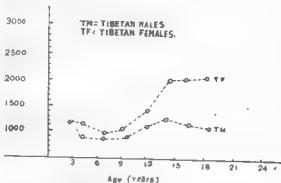
Sample and Method

The sample under study, represent Tibetan refugees at Chandragiri settlement Camp, district Ganjam, Orissa.

Height and weight were collected from among 133 males and 113 females between the ages of 1 and 25. In addition 35 males and 43 females between 25 and 35 years of age were included as an adult sample.

FIG 1

BRACHIUM FAT TIBETAN REFUGEES

FAT (MM²)

Estimation of the mid brachial cross sectional area of fat was made after the methods of Baker Hunt and Sen (1958). The sample for these measurements comprises of 60 males and 66 females ranging from 1 to 25 years of age.

Discussion and Results

(a) *Stature and Weight* With regard to the development of stature and weight among the Tibetan children there is late development of sexual dimorphism. A statistically significant difference between the sexes does not develop until after age sixteen. Increase in stature and weight continues for the females until

near twenty at which it stabilizes. From the table 1, it is evident that, the women are quite stable throughout, young adulthood showing no further increase even in weight. Males also show a stability in the growth of stature at about twenty but in contrast to the women, the data on young adult males indicate a slight continued rise in weight.

(b) *Fat*—The cross sectional areas of subcutaneous fat for Tibetan males and females have been plotted in Fig 1. The data also suggest that the females have slightly more brachial fat than the males before coming up to adolescent period. Yet a statistically significant difference

between the sexes does not develop until around the age of seventeen. During this time only sex difference occurs quite rapidly and then stabilizes through the early twenties.

Conclusion

From the present study it is apparent that the rapid adolescent growth spurt appears to be spread

over a longer time period with slower rate at any one point. Very high altitudes may retard growth particularly during adolescence, but it requires further extensive studies. Because, though hypoxia may have direct effect on the metabolic processes involved in growth, yet other factors like affect of intestinal absorption and childhood diseases should also be taken in to equal consideration.

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A note on the concept of Tribe

SUGUNA PAJL

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century much has been written on different aspects of Indian Tribes without even having any scientific premise to identify the communities as tribes. In practice, the students of tribe have accepted the established groups as tribal communities which are duly designated by the Constitu-

tion of India a Scheduled Tribes. But unfortunately neither the Constitution lays down any concrete definition of the term nor even possess a single criterion to characterise a community of people as a tribe. Consequently without any scientific investigation simply on a priori basis through local stereotypes and images groups of people inhabiting in particular regions are described as tribes *en bloc*.

Tentatively speaking such a scientific perspective in the identification of tribes, is a product of the British anthropological tradition whose origin was closely associated with the requirements of colonial administration. Again, there is also the consensus acceptance of the established groups as it satisfies the needs of the present system in very many ways. Anyway, is such a *prima facie* selection adequate enough

to locate the 'backward' communities who are by ascription entitled to certain special socio-economic and political privileges, through the Constitution?

Our pursuit in this paper is to review the little available attempts made by anthropologists to define the term—tribe and also the inherent assumptions. We would confine ourselves to the Indian context, that too briefly. And also due to the diversities between tribes, testing of the attributes and assumptions may naturally remain limited.

In 1908, basing over the individual attempts of some pioneers anthropologists, like Morgan, Tylor, Perry, Rivers, Lowie and others to define the term tribe the Dictionary of Anthropology mention that a tribe is 'a Social Group actually with a definite area, descent, cultural homogeneity and uniform social organisation. It ordinarily has a leader and may have a common ancestor as well as patron deity. The families or small communities making up the tribe are linked through economic, social, religious family or blood ties'. The space does not permit us to provide full account

of the various views. Hence we would confine only to a few important contributors' attempt in that regard

Lewis assumed that 'ideally', tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of the social legal and political relations, and possess a morality, religion and world view of corresponding dimensions¹. This definition is inadequate for it restricts to ideal societies than real ones, many of which may be quite large and scattered over extensive territories. Besides how to differentiate between tribal and peasant communities, when in many parts of the world peasant communities are also "small in scale". Similarly Salus² restriction of the tribe to segmentary societies, is questionable, for in that respect many developed tribes would correspond more to the peasants than to the tribes

Perry³ thinks of a tribe as a group speaking a common dialect and inhabiting in a common territory. Any student of Indian tribe can easily find contrary evidences, in plenty. So Rivers⁴ added that the members of a tribe have a single Government and act together for common purpose as warfare. This character fails to account those tribes who do not possess any tribal chief or any tribal Government, as such. Besides, there is no ground to support the view that wars were and are always inter-tribal

Evans-Pritchard defined tribe as "a more or less homogeneous society having a common dialect, common Government and a common culture". Likewise, Kroeber conceived it as a small isolated and close-knit society. And in tribal society, socio-cultural aspects are largely organised around the kinship. Further, it is marked by

strong group integration based on the principle of primitive democracy⁵. Thus these authors only acknowledge to coherence and integration but not the existing internal contradictions and heterogeneity within the tribal societies

We may now better deal with the above mentioned attributes of tribes in the Indian context. Initially, tribe and caste were synonymously used. But a period of prolonged controversy during the colonial period they were separated and then *The Imperial Gazetteer* described tribe, as a collection of families, bearing a common name speaking a common dialect, occupying a common territory and which have been, if they are not endogamous⁶. This definition caters the depth of influence of colonial anthropology. Moreover, the characters attributed to tribe are almost similar with that of caste⁷.

In distinguishing a tribe from caste, Bailey writes that an ideal tribe has always an organic entity which is characterised by lack of interaction and absence of hierarchical system while an ideal caste encourages more interactions and hankers after a position in the hierarchical system⁸. This is an important contribution from a functionalist point of view so far as separating ideal tribe from ideal caste is concerned. But does the abstract ideal realm corresponds to the actual concrete world? Logically, it cannot. And so, Bailey, like his predecessors, failed bitterly in his attempts to differentiate tribe and caste although he has studied both the social organisations in depth.

Let us now turn to the exact use of the term in the Indian context. Sinha holds that a tribe is isolated from other ethnic groups in ecology, demography, economy, politics and other

social relations. It is marked by the lack of social stratification and role specialisation other than that of age, sex and kinship. In other words, it is a homogenous social unit². But we are not told how they are isolated ethnic groups, what measurements we shall use to denote the groups and also what to call about the communities which are differentiated. Indeed Sinha added a number of observations to the confusion. This also clearly reveals the ambiguous skill of Indian anthropology. In fact, most of the well known students of tribe have more or less followed the same outlook without specifying even the level of homogeneity in tribal societies, which they have studied. While academically we are nowhere near a comprehensive method of identifying the tribal societies, the State has accepted certain groups of people as tribes to facilitate their adequate representation in the mainstream of the nation. These categories are established and inherited from the British administration. It is not surprising that the Government should have a list of this kind in the interest of practical policy. But wonder is that the concerned anthropologists have accepted this list uncritically.

As a product of near-stagnancy in the creativity of the intellectuals, there are as many as 212 tribes in the country. And all are differentiated from non tribes, while among them no differentiation is accepted from the practical point of view. Some States have as many as 63 tribes while others may have only one³.

For our purpose, let us see the variations between some selected tribes representing variations in demography, ecology, culture and economic development. As per Table 1 we noticed the tribes like the Gond

the Bhil and the Santals are highly populated and are spread over several States of the country. In contrast the Kadar, the Toda, the Ao Naga and the Andamanese are less populated and restricted in limited areas. This means that both demographically and ecologically there exist polar communities who are levelled by a single term Scheduled Tribes.

Coming to the economy and culture, we notice that the Kadar, the Chenchu and the Andamanese are food gatherers and hunters, without private owning of means of production. And the Ao Naga, the Bhil, and the Khasi are shifting agriculturists, with the common ownership of land. At the same time, the Gond, the Oraon, and the Santal are permanent agriculturists with private ownership of land, and marked class antagonisms. Besides there is the Toda, who live from domestication of animals. Hence, from the level of economy and culture point of view we find hardly any similarity between these communities.

There obviously cannot be any dispute for providing certain ameliorative measures to the food gatherers, shifting agriculturists and those who live by animal husbandry because any external planned assistance would release the forces of production there without violating substantially to the relations of production. But, what about those permanent agriculturists where the communities are structured on the basis of land? Would it not accelerate the antagonistic forces within the structured community? In addition would it not be unfair to assist the tribal rich, while the rural poor is left to languish in poverty and malnutrition?

As is well known, among the advanced agricultural tribes there are tribal landlords, small and middle peasants, tenants and agricultural

labourers¹¹ The landlords by virtue of their control over land and also money lending, enjoy not only the surplus labour of the tenants and various forms of free labour services, but also high socio-political status. In Independent India the special provisions, or at least a large part of these actually reach these powerful landlords. Many backward tribes fail to get their adequate share as the rich section of the advanced tribes enjoy the privileges of the region. The main reason is that no discrimination is made between advanced and backward tribes, and inside advanced tribes¹²

In other words the present feudal and semi-feudal social formations

among the advanced tribal communities are the extensions of the tribal chieftainship of earlier times. The privileged class addressed their socio-economic, political and religious power to appropriate wealth produced by the impoverished peasants and serfs, and also are profited from the indiscriminate concessions of the State. In this connection, one would anticipate from the present day anthropologists that they shall earnestly seek to explain the existing problems in the tribal communities, and chart out specific plans for different categories of the so-called tribal communities. To us, it appears that such attempts alone can help us to conceptualize, the otherwise vague term the tribe.

Table I

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF THE SELECTED TRIBES IN INDIA

Name of the tribes	Where found (population in parenthesis)	Total population
(1)	(2)	(3)
Andamanes	Andaman and Nicobar Islands (19)	19
Ao Naga	Nagaland (55,888)	55,888
Bhil	Andhra Pradesh (83), Gujarat (1194,287), Madhya Pradesh (1,329,430), Maharashtra (575,022), Mysore (2,7) and Rajputana (908,758) Tripura (69)	3,838,371
Chakma	Andhra Pradesh (17,699), Mysore (208) and Orissa (52)	17,858
Chond	Andhra Pradesh (143,680), Bihar (43,52), Gujarat (87), Madhya Pradesh (1,094,613), Maharashtra (272,564), Mysore (862), Orissa (445,725) and West Bengal (735)	3,99,767
Kadar	Kerala (95) and Madras (293)	1,259
Khasi	Assam (356,155), Nagaland (53) and Tripura (349)	356,567

Ethnomethodology: An exposition

JAGANATH PATHY

"In the ages in which active life is the condition of almost everyone, men are generally led to attach an excessive value to the rapid bursts and superficial conceptions of the intellect and on the other to under value its slower and deeper labours"

Alexis De Tocqueville

Recently a considerable number of social scientists are understandably curious and confused with increasing equanimity of ethnomethodology. To some it appears liberal and development over the polemics between raw empiricism and theory building while others consider it as a new form of conservatism and being divorced from profound historical analysis, focuses on the inessential (often unimportant features) investigations, giving an illusion of academic vigour. The existence of the two equally powerful (2) and irreconcilable viewpoints among the concerned intellectuals at a given historical time and space broadly denote the inherent contradictions in the social environment where it was born and social science. However, here we would like to limit ourselves only to examine the main implications of the theory of

ethnomethodology at the methodological level.

The word ethnomethodology is derived from the concept of ethno-science in the field of anthropology, where it deals primarily with the system of knowledge and cognition of specific cultures, especially those of non literate peoples and communities (Psathas 1966). Both ethno-science and ethnomethodology attempt to understand, classify and define the socio physical world of the cultural processes. But the former mainly tends to describe these cultural processes in small and relatively stable societies whereas the latter claims to examine the said processes in large and changing societies. However, irrespective of the talem of understanding social changes, we will notice soon that the techniques, methods and perspectives of ethnomethodology together act as the decisive constraint in providing a dynamic dimension to social cognition, thereby ultimately reducing it to more or less, another conservative branch of social science.

Ethnomethodologists have argued that they have successfully synthesized the major sociological tendencies, and that has helped them to perceive

the social environment more concretely and systematically, which was hitherto absent in the sociological profession. In short ethnomethodology has borrowed its methodology from logical empiricism while its theory has been derived from hermeneutic-dialectical tradition (Mehan and Wood, 1975:). Needless to point out the antagonism between the two major trends in the social sciences. But the practitioners of ethnomethodology claim that the objective inquiries are possible without siding either of the antithetical tradition. If it is really so, then the concerned theoreticians would naturally be entitled of high esteem in the academic world. We of course in the following will assert that it is quite closer to logical-empiricism than the other tradi-

(81)

Usually the task of exposing a subject matter or a part of it, starts with the analysis of the definition. But unfortunately, in this case we are no privileged to do that for the existing literature on the subject do not provide us any precise and clear definition of the term 'ethnomethodology'. The attempts to define the term are almost always done in an esoteric manner, often being quite contrary to each other. And they are also formulated in an ad hoc and superficial descriptive way explaining the field or the technical terms for purpose, but not the totality. In some it is merely a sociology with different subject matter (Turner 1974). While for others, it seems to be more a method for investigating socio-cultural environment than a theory.

Parsons (1968) nevertheless the lack of clarity in defining the term is though deplorable and expresses weak points in the conceptualization of the term. It need not necessarily be an obstacle to the unfolding of the theory and its inherent assumptions. A concept may be underdeveloped or less developed but if its premises are systematized and comprehensive enough then

naturally, it can be treated as a high order of abstraction a condition for scientific development.

Accordingly let us begin with the basic assumptions of ethnomethodology. Ethnomethodology denies the possibility of any theory of social change and suggests that the everyday life of people shall be investigated in its own right and as having a unique logic of its own. Basing over this premise, the ethnomethodologists make devastating criticisms of all the prevailing sociological theories and methodologies, of Comte to Marx to Parsons as spurious and bizarre for those were constructed over unexamined assumptions about everyday life. So the hitherto unexplored mandate the everyday life and experience is considered the most significant enterprise in the present day social sciences.

Again, we are told that "To do ethnomethodology one must pursue some activity", further reading does not make one an ethnomethodologist... because ethnomethodology is essentially a way of working that it can liberate us from what Blake called... single vision and Newton's sleep (Mehan and Wood, 1975: b 628). In other words ethnomethodology pictures men as individual entrepreneurs and suggests that personal experience or 'face-to-face' interaction is the starting point for arriving at meanings, and important conclusions on individuals and cultures (Denzin 1989: 930). But the question of activity is undefined and thus left to the choice of the researchers. Moreover since no theory claims to be eternal and immutable we will be liberated from what is unclear.

At the same time Schutz (1967) observes that every individual has a unique biography and also a unique perspective. Hence his understanding of the reality is conditioned by his

life experience. And depending on the variations in life experiences, which would in any case be conspicuous, the socio-cultural reality will have multiple perspectives. That is why there cannot be a single paramount objective reality. Instead, there would be a number of realities arising from the differences in individual life experiences. And so, the so-called objective reality is myth and is constructed by dominant scientists who were not usually challenged by others for anxiety and fear of being caught and condemned (Douglas, 1974). If all the social scientists follow this formulation then there would be no generalizable knowledge and we would have to confine to investigating and describing the uniqueness of every situation (Zeilin, 1973: 181-2). Anyway being grounded in phenomenology and committed to investigate essential and transcendentia, features of every day life by video-tapes, individual case studies and behaviour patterns it avoids "promiscuous discussions of theory" (Garfinkel 1967: vii). Mention may be made that we are not critical of case studies but the selection of unique and abnormal cases and thereby claiming credit for doing new researches. In addition such studies ignore even the fundamentals of scientific method like sampling (Garfinkel 1968). Moreover, certain haphazard cases are treated as the total universe and are never related to the larger socio-historical structure. In that sense it is atomistic, astructural and ahistorical (Mays, 1973: 14). To be precise ethnomethodology is a situational sociology that loses sight of antecedent historical conditions and the importance of a priori categories as well as theory building.

Be that aside for the moment and let us now turn to another assumption that any phenomenon has its own reality and is worth of study. This means that all situations are equally problematic

for all actors at any given point of time. But does it so? Is there no difference between primary and secondary aspects of life and conditions? It would be absurd to consider hair dressing and working for wages as one and the same in importance. Anyway ethnomethodologists in actuality do not deal with all the problems but only those which interest them and are not studied earlier. Being predefined the problems tend to be located in trivial issues without having any meaningful relations to the basic life chances. Mostly the selection is done on a commonsense basis (Johnson, 1974) and there is absolutely no *modus operandi* in the pattern of investigation.

It also assumes that every one is in a position equal to every one else, i.e. every one is able to comprehend the reality in his own way. That means there is no difference between common beliefs and the scientific pursuits. The focus then is on the ways through which the people construct a socially meaningful world (Garfinkel 1968: vii). But who would determine the event is meaningful or not and whether it occurred or did not occur earlier is undecided.

Again it perceives man as controlled but benevolent and strives to repair the casualties suffered in the normal wear and tear of interaction in the socio-cultural systems. In that way ethnologists act like functionaries. They "are so concerned with reporting the fact that people bend the rules, that they forget to ask about the nature or implication of the rules" (Zeilin 1973: 185-6). This shows their class character and conservatism. So their liberalism is no more than laissez faire type. Further their assumption that "man creates his own world, man must then be responsible for his own situation and for his own actions is anti-revolutionary, in a class-ridden society" (Szymanski 1973: 60). This is a vivid proof of

their attempt to rationalize the existing moribund and unjust social institutions, and safeguard the status quo.

The implication of these different premises, then is that the ethnologists deny the worth of institutional analysis aimed at social change or social transformation. At times they are even actively opposed to change. They dissolve institutions to entirely subjective categories of individuals or group perceptions. They talk of group or individual using psychoanalytic or biologicistic mechanisms. In the mean while they leave the study of society and get entangled with minor elements. And then naturally they have to maintain that the reality which is observed is partial and is subject to continual revision. It may be mentioned here that we are not opposed to the study of creative aspects of man's personality but to the slicing of his ory into sections and episodes to the analysis of categories like class, race, sex, group, power, etc. and structure and function etc.

and in brief, to the running functionalist play of "face to face" social world of the "actors" in a "situation". This is absolute reductionism and shall be criticised at all costs. The attempts to describe unique cases in an exhaustive manner, is no science. Coleman, 1968: 127). It does not bother to investigate how a particular institution or a system or a sub system came to be or what is the effect of larger events on the particular phenomena which is being investigated. Leach 1974). Simple analysis of behaviour cannot substantiate their claim of being "radical" or critical. Reynolds, 1973. It is indeed another format of conservatism developed in the American soil.

We would like to conclude this brief note on ethnomethodology with the oft quoted lines from C. W. Mills who held "No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography of history and of their intersections within society", has completed its intellectual journey. 1970, 121.

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ABO Blood group of Parajas of Koraput District

BASANTI RATH

In this paper the ABO blood group of Parajas of Koraput district is presented. The investigation was carried out in 1971.

A total number of 100 unrelated individuals of which 69 male samples 31 female samples were studied. Sample is small sized.

Material and Method

The samples selected for the present study are collected from different villages of Koraput district of Orissa.

Blood samples were collected by finger pricks and grouping test was performed by the slide method.

Results and Discussion

The total number of population tested were 100 of which 69 males and 31 females were studied. The percentage of O group in case of male group is 33.33 which is followed by the groups B and A the percentages of

which are 28.98 and 30.08 respectively. The percentage of AB group is 11.11 which is very low.

From the Table I it is observed that among the female group the percentage of A group is 38.7 which is closely followed by the B group, the percentage of which is 35.7. O group and AB group show the percentages 16.1 and 9.6 respectively. Bisexual variation is very predominant.

$$\chi^2 = 17.30 \text{ (3 d.f.)}$$

P is less than 0.001

(The gene frequencies have been estimated as $p=0.215$, $q=0.162$, $r=0.623$)

In the Table II the distribution of ABO blood group in different population of Orissa Compared.

The ABO blood group of Parajas shows close similarity with the Gadabas.

The 'O' blood group peoples of Sashana Brahmin, Sabera Juang and Gadabas show similarity with Parajas of present study

In AB blood group, the aboriginal tribes of Orissa, Juang and Bhoj Oriya Khandayat studied by Tripaithy and Mitra Gauras Panos and Gadaba (studied by M Mahapatra Unpublished) have similarity with Parajas of present study

Table III represents the distribution of ABO blood group in Indian population. The table shows that the Parajas of present study are similar with Santal and oroms of Bihar Maria Gonds of Bastar and Gadabas of Koraput district which is studied by M Mahapatra (unpublished) Compared with world frequencies, P and Q for this group are greater than the world average of 0.215, 0.162 and r is less in former than the world average

Compared with the population studied by MC Arthur and penrose

(India, Ceylon, Maldiv Islands, Nepal and Pakistan), p and r of Paraja group are greater than p and r of those populations and q of Paraja group is lower than the q of those populations. In comparison with Australoids p and q of Paraja group are greater than the p and q of Australoids and r of the Paraja group is lesser than the r of Australoid group

Summary

Blood samples of 100 Parajas of some villages of Koraput district, Orissa were tested for ABO blood groups. The percentages of group A, group B group AB and group O are 30 per cent 24 per cent 11 per cent and 28 per cent respectively. The gene frequencies have been estimated as $p=0.215$, $q=0.162$, $r=0.623$

Acknowledgement

I am very much grateful to Dr Usha Deka, Reader in Physical Anthropology Utkal University for her kind help and valuable suggestion in preparing this paper

Table I

Sex	No. of Subjects	Phenotypes					
		A	B	AB	O	P	Q
Male	60	25.0%	28.3%	11.7%	33.3%	0.232	0.239
Female	31	38.7%	35.5%	9.7%	16.1%		

Table II
ABO BLOOD GROUP DISTRIBUTION AMONG ORISSA POPULATION

Population	No.	O	A	B	AB	Author
Amongst races of Orissa	153	36.90	21.36	31.07	10.6	Sarker, 1956
Jung	115	21.74	21.74	47.83	8.69	Sarker 1956
Sabara	86	22.09	24.42	38.37	15.2	Sarker, 1956
Bhoir	88	17.24	31.89	41.87	10.96	Tripathy 1958
Oriya Khondayat	60	43.33	18.33	25.00	13.33	Macdaniels, 1938
Sardul	57	1.78	1.92	2.98	4.14	Chowdhury and some
Berhampur	28	17.17	25.00	30.24	27.57	Tripathy and Mitra 1957
Kand	45	33.33	22.22	37.77	8.6	Ditto
Khundaval	38	18.42	26.32	44.73	10.53	Ditto
Other Castes	54	20.38	27.77	51.86	9.96	Ditto
Gatra	18	38.87	22.22	44.44	14.44	Chowdhury and some
Shangara Indrajit	200	30.99	27.77	37.17	4.06	Dr. Deka Mahapatra S. Mishra
Poro	25	40.77	32.47	4.42	13.34	Chowdhury and some
Oriya Brahmin	125	45.6	25.6	26.50	12.28	Palnaka and Choudh. Unpublished.
Gadaba	250	28.80	3.20	30.00	38.00	M. Mahapatra Unpublished
Paraja	100	28.7	31	30	11	Present study

ABO BLOOD GROUP

Table III
COMPARISON OF ABO BLOOD GROUP AMONG INDIA AND OTHERS

Population	Authors	No.	O	A	B	AB	P	Q	R
Angami Nagas (Borders of Assam)	Mitra 1935-36	166	48.06	38.79	11.51	1.64	24.13	7.89	67.98
Angami Nagas (Borders of Assam)	Braschler Jen 1957	100	45.00	28.00	18.00	6.00	25.00	8.35	65.12
Khasi (Khasi Jaintia Hills of Assam)	Law 1956	50	40.5	5.6	33.3	4.5			
Bihar (Assam)	Sarkar	2	38.11	5.7	14	4.76			
Hos (Bihar)	Majumdar 1950-51	185	34.95	31.72	27.96	5.36	20.87	18.52	40.6
Mandas (Bihar)	Macfarlane 191	120	33.33	32.00	29.17	7.50	21.03	20.52	58.4
Orang (Bihar)	Sarkar 1949	116	26.09	27.63	33.91	12.17	22.52	26.35	
Santal (Bihar)	Sarkar and Seng 1952	407	31.69	21.37	35.63	11.30	17.83	26.97	
Jats (Punjab)	Khurana 1950	93	41.93	22.58	34.41	1.07	12.82	2.97	
Chamars (U. P.)	Majumdar 1947	130	36.67	18.47	39.23	5.33	2.58	25.24	
Dom (U. P.)	Majumdar 1942	126	30.90	20.30	33.69	10.40	16.43	24.95	
Orissas (Calcutta)	Sarkar 1942-43	155	47.0	2.90	34.84	5.0	9.95	24.47	
Maria Gond (Jagdalpur)	Macfarlane 1940	123	28.45	26.02	34.15	1.38	20.84	26.14	
	Pandit 1934	200	29.50	19.50	38.00	13.00	17.05	29.68	
Bhotleg (Aimire)	Tiwari 1951-52	144	8.06	15.27	50.79	13.97	15.20	40.40	
World average	Mc Arthur and Pearson					0.215	0.182	0.523	
India, Ceylon, Bhutan, Maldives and Pakistan	Mc Arthur and Pearson					0.185	0.230	0.50	
Gadaba (Orissa)	Mahapatra Unpublished	250		28.80	31.20	30.20	30.00		10.00
Paraja (Orissa)	Present study	100	28.00	30.00	31.00	1.00	0.232	0.239	0.539

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୧୩. ଶିଳ୍ପ ପ୍ରସାର ପାଇଁ ଗାନ୍ଧୀ ଗୃହାବଲମ୍ବୀ:—

କୋଟିର ପ୍ରକଳରେ ଶିବ ମିଶ୍ର ଓ ଛାତ୍ର ଅମିତାଭା
କଲେ ପୁରୀରେ ଗଢ଼ା ଦିସଇ କଟିବା ଦାବୀରେ ବୁଦ୍ଧି
ପାଲିଆବାବାଙ୍କୁ ମଧ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟମ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ଗୃହ
ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ଶିବ ଛାତ୍ର ପାଇଁ ଗାଁ ନିରୁପକ୍ଷ ଗାୟକର
କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ ଚିହ୍ନେ ଗଢ଼ା ଦିଆଯାଉ ।

(9) Mg

(જી) સ-સુચી અસરોના નિર્ણય લેવામાં આવે

(କ) ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ, ସାଧନ ପଦ୍ଧତି ଓ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ବିଷୟ

୧୪ । ସ୍ଥାନୀୟତାବାଦୀ ଚାହିଁ କେତେକ ଅର୍ଥିକ କାରଣ —

(୧) ଉତ୍ତମାୟ ଚିତ୍ରା ଶିଳ୍ପ ଉପାଦେୟ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଦେଉଛି ।

୨. ଉପରୋକ୍ତମାନଙ୍କୁ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରି ପ୍ରମାଣିତ କରାଯାଉ.

1991-92, 1992-93, 1993-94

୫ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀ ଭର୍ତ୍ତି ଏବଂ ୧୦୦୦

(କ) ପ୍ରଶ୍ନର ଚିହ୍ନିତ ଉପାଦାନ ଦେଖାଇ ଗଣନା ।

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ବାବଦ : ଶୈଳାଦିତ୍ୟ ପରିସାହ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର—

[illegible][illegible]

ସାମ : ଗାଁ ବର୍ତ୍ତା ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଉପରେ ପଡ଼େ—

[illegible]

ସାଧ : ଏହାରେ ଆମେ ଉପରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରୁଥିବା ଗୋଟିଏ
ଅନୁଶୀଳନ କରିବା : ଏହି ଏକ ନିୟମାବଳୀ କିପରି ଗଠନ ହୋଇଛି

[illegible]

ବାଡ଼ ଉପାସ ବ୍ୟବହାରେ ଶେଷିତନାମର ଅନୁସୂଚି
 ଶ୍ରେଣୀ-

[illegible]

ବେଦନ ଏହି ପରିସିଦ୍ଧି ଦେବଦରଦ ଏବଂ ଶାମାଳ ଲୋଡ଼ି ଧାରଣା
 ଶୁଦ୍ଧତା ପାଇବାପାଇଁ ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଉପଦେଶ ଦାଖଲ କରି
 ଦେଇ ପ୍ରାୟ ପଚାଶ-ଏକ ଜାତିର ଉପଦେଶ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ପ୍ରୟୋଗ
 ବୋଲି ଅବଦ. ଆଜେ ଆଜି ଅଧିକାଂଶ ଆଧୁନିକ ଡାକ୍ତର
 ବୋଲିବାସ୍ତୁ । ତୁମ ଗୋଟିଏ ଦୁଇ ଖିଟି ଦେବଦରଦ ଧାରଣା
 ଦେବାପାଇଁ ବଡ଼ ସମୟ ଆବଶ୍ୟକ କରୁଥିବା ବେଳି
 ଉପଦେଶ ବେଦର ବାଧ୍ୟତା କିନ୍ତୁ ଖିଟି ଅଳ୍ପପ୍ରାୟ ତଳି ଗର୍ଭବାଦ
 ଦେଇ ଏହା ଆବଶ୍ୟକ କୌଣସି ବିଦ୍ୟା ପଢ଼ା ଯାଏ ।
 ଆଜକାଳରୁ ଆଜିକାଳ ପ୍ରାୟତଃ ବିଦ୍ୟାବେଶ ଗଡ଼ୁଆ ବୋଲିବା
 ଜାଣିକ ଡାକ୍ତର ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ପ୍ରାଣୀର ଯିଲେ ଏହା କିଏ ଉପଦେଶ
 ସାମୁଦ୍ରିକ ବୋଲିବା ବିଦ୍ୟା ପଢ଼ା ଯାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହି ଖିଟି
 ବେଦ ବଦଳିଯାଇଛି ଉପଦେଶ ଆଜିର ଡାକ୍ତରଙ୍କର ପ୍ରାଣୀର
 ଶାମାଳ ଆଜିର ଉପଦେଶ ଉପଦେଶ ଉପଦେଶ ଏହା
 କାହିଁପ୍ରାଣୀର ବଡ଼ ପରିସିଦ୍ଧି ବୋଲିବାସ୍ତୁ । ଏହିପରି
 ଆଜିକାଳ ପରିସିଦ୍ଧିର କିଏ ବିଦ୍ୟା ପଢ଼ିବ ବିଦ୍ୟାବେଶ ବିଦ୍ୟା
 ପଢ଼ା । ମଧ୍ୟା ଯିବିବାସ୍ତୁ । ଏହି ଉପଦେଶ କିଏ ସାମୁଦ୍ରିକ
 ଡାକ୍ତର ପ୍ରାଣୀର ଶାମାଳ ଆଜିର ଉପଦେଶ ଉପଦେଶ

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କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ସାହିତ୍ୟ ସମାଜର ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାପତି ଶ୍ରୀ
ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଜେନାଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରତିବନ୍ଧୁ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ ସ୍ବପ୍ନା
ସିନେମାରେ ଗର୍ବିତ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ
ନିଜ ଆତ୍ମ ପକ୍ଷେ ପ୍ରାୟଶ୍ଚିତ କରିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ
କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାର ସଫଳତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ହରଣ
କରିବ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାର ସଫଳତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି
ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ହରଣ କରିବ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ କୌଣସି
ପ୍ରକାର ସଫଳତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ହରଣ କରିବ ।
ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାର ସଫଳତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି ନିଶ୍ଚିତ
ଭାବରେ ହରଣ କରିବ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାର
ସଫଳତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ହରଣ କରିବ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ
କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାର ସଫଳତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ହରଣ
କରିବ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ କୌଣସି ପ୍ରକାର ସଫଳତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି
ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ହରଣ କରିବ । ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ କୌଣସି
ପ୍ରକାର ସଫଳତା ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ଭାବରେ ହରଣ କରିବ ।

[illegible]

୩୮ ନବମ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ଉତ୍ତର ଦେଖାଯିବ ବୋଲି—

[illegible]

କିଏ କିପରିପରେ ଦିଶାଏକେ କେବେ ପ ଉ ପଶି। ଅନ୍ଧର ବିଶ୍ୱରେ
 ଏକ କାମୁଡ଼ି ଖାଉଣି କେ ପାରି ପାଉନାହିଁ
 ଏକକେ କେଉଁ କିଏ ପଚାରେ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟକେକିଏ ପରିଚିତି ସୃଷ୍ଟି
 କୁଏ। ଏହିପରି ଦୁଃସ୍ୱପ୍ନର ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣ କି ଦୂତାମଳ
 ନାମରେ ବାମନଙ୍କର ଗୁପ୍ତତା ଅନ୍ୟକେ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟକେ
 ପରସ୍ପରର ଶିତି ସଂପର୍କରେ ସଚେତନ କେବା ଆନନ୍ଦୀୟ
 ଏବଂ ଆନନ୍ଦୀୟ ହେବାକୁ ଶକ୍ତି ପରାଣ ଆପଣେକେ କେବା କେବା
 କେବା ଏହି ପରୁଷାଏ ଏକ ଶବ୍ଦ ଏବଂ ଶୃଙ୍ଖଳା ମୁକ୍ତ ପଦି
 ପାରିବେ କିଏ କେବଳକେ ଏକକେ ପରାଣୀୟ ହେବାପାଇଁ କେବା

[illegible]

୪୦ । ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଦିଗ୍‌ବିଶେଷ ଉପରେ ଅବିବାହୀ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି
ଜା'ର ଶ୍ରେଣିରେ, ଆର୍ଥିକ, ସାମାଜିକ ଉପକା ସ-ପ୍ରସିଦ୍ଧ
କମଳା ଧାରଣା ପାଉଁସପାତ୍ର ଉପରେ ବସିତର ଅବିବାହୀ
ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଶିବ ଦିବ-ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା ଆଦିକାରୀ ଓ ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ

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68 69 70

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

୫୭ ଶୈବିକ ଯୋଗଦାନ ପାଇଁ ସାବଧାନ ବିଚାର

[illegible]

Book Reviews

MURDER AND SUICIDE AMONG THE MUNDA AND ORAN.

By SHRI A. B. SARAN, *National Publishing House, Delhi*: 1974 P. P. 266, Rs. 40.00

FALSIFICATION of history is closely associated with the phenomenal spread of American social sciences, particularly psychology, sociology and anthropology, into the third world countries. In the meanwhile, there is spectacular tendency to camouflage the reality by concentrating on values rather than on interests which are the responsible factors in understanding not only the structure of the prevailing social phenomena but also their dynamics. As a consequence much has been said on anomie, normlessness, deviance, disintegration, etc., while it is rare to find a scholarly work from the social scientists, who trail behind the mentors of Michigan, Princeton, Harvard and M. I. T. on existing contradictions and the social forces which lead to certain specific activities like murder, suicide, etc. No surprise, of course.

The essence of the present volume under review is an extension of the same functionalist perspective, travelled directly into the study of murder

and suicide among two Indian tribal communities—Munda and Oran. No wonder, the author has started his arguments from the premises of Durkheim and a few recent prominent conservative American academicians. Sufficient stress is laid on motivations, values and beliefs, while only marginal touching is being made to the socio-economic and political relations existing in the two societies, as a product of history.

Murder and suicide are thought to be the product of the imbalance of conscience, which in turn, produced by inadequate socialization leading to frustration which originates aggression. Well, socialization is supposed to be the base of bourgeois social science which means that there can not be any structural change—only deviant behaviours. Saran has uncritically accepted the dogma as science, for change is the inherent character of each and every society, irrespective of space and time. No doubt, from a short term perspective, for healing the wounds or for correcting the bits of abnormal activities it may be of some help, (though limited) to the system especially police authorities, Judiciary and prison administrators. But so far as knowledge is concerned short sightedness has no place in it.

Again, raw empiricism followed in Saran's study fails to take us beyond a limited extent to the comprehension of the reality. Simple case studies, largely based on the police reports can not fulfil the primary requirements of understanding the 'strains' in the given structure, in which the criminals belong. No scientist would deny the importance of case study as a scientific method. But it would be wrong to assume that the simple case studies alone can explain the 'strains' or the contradictions, which forced the culprit to do the crime.

The style of writing is the same as many other Indian social scientists follow, i. e., while after tabular representation of data there exists repeated description of the source, which only increases the bulk of the book. Further, though Saran has gone beyond the pet correlates like age, sex, marital status, etc. to some reasonable variables, he could not identify the dependent, independent and intervening variables to sharpen the correlation. And here is another set of firm limitations of this enthusiastic enterprise. We would have been benefited if he has taken the trouble of going into the structural problems existing among the concerned tribes and then relate them to the variations in the frequencies of murder and suicide.

However, the book may be of some help for future researchers studying such problems among the tribal communities.

JAYARAM PANDA

RETURN TO THE NAKED NAGAS : AN ANTHROPOLOGISTS VIEW OF NAGALAND
By Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf, Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd., 1978. P. P. 268 Rs. 50.00

As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, Indian tribes have

been the major attraction for the anthropologists at home and abroad. Consequently, our present day libraries are equipped with unimaginable number of volumes of work about the once little known tribal communities. But unfortunately, we have more simple descriptive accounts on the "unique" and exotic customs and traditions of these relatively stable societies, than on their socio-economic and political structures and dynamics. Being subservient to the British social anthropology, the tribal ethnological works in India have primarily focussed on the theories of "static equilibrium" and "cultural lag" and thus remained conservative and stereotyped. Even in 1970s, functionalism is the reigning approach to the tribal studies.

Needless to say that guided by the assumptions of functionalism, the tribal studies have only attempted to rationalize the internal coherence of the structured populace through a consideration both of its units and of their activities. With respect to change, the studies have assumed that it is a gradual and cumulative process of adjustment to new situations—largely products of diffusion. This nominalistic, mechanistic and a Historical conception of social reality is bound with incrementalism, and thereby, fails to grasp the fundamental contradictions in the society that are responsible for socio-cultural change. In short, notwithstanding the massive literature on India tribes, we are no where near a precise model or even a concrete analysis of social change in the tribal societies.

From an eminent anthropologist like Furer-Haimendorf who had the opportunity to study the Konyak Nagas at two different periods of time—1936-1937 and 1970—one could naturally

anticipate an adequate analysis of the socio-cultural change witnessed by the tribe, whose population has created sufficient curiosity for about 20 years due to their consistent struggle to establish a sovereign Naga State to safeguard their nationality and common interest. But the author has consciously avoided the issue, and asked the readers to construct their independent judgements from the last chapter of the book, which nevertheless reflects only fragmentary points on the political events shaping the region and the society.

Though many people in this country know how it is difficult to get a permission to stay for a few days in Nagaland, Furer Heimendorf's account provides a broader testimony to it, for he was known to no less a person like H. K. Nehru the then Governor of Nagaland.

Be that aside, the book costing Rs. 50 has only two new chapters to its bulk over the author's previous book entitled, *The Naked Nagas* (1936). Again out of the two chapters, one deals not with the *konvaks* but with the *Wanchus*, whom the author observes "hardly distinguishable from some of the communities" which he had studied in 1936-37. The reviewer cannot understand why this too descriptive and vague chapter is included, without having any implication on the main purpose of studying the change the *Konyak*. Anyway, whatever the importance the book carries it rests simply in one chapter out of the total 37 chapters.

Here too is the same diffusionism explaining social change. The sour-

ces of change are said to be the impact of Christianity, English education, extension of Indian administration and politics, and enormous rental assistance for communication and the like. So we are told that new townships with barracks, office buildings, shops and bungalows, have developed; increasing number of people have gone for English education; jeepable roads are extended and so on. More than these, there are frequent references on the gradual accumulation of the "foreign" cultural traits in dress, ornament, music, drink, cemetery and so on in the traditional *konyak* cultural milieu.

At the same time the author points out the continuation of the slash—and burn cultivation without any improvement of technology, and the power of chiefs to get free labour from his subject and tributes from the dependent villages. But he has not gone far to investigate in any detail the changes in the socio-economic and political structure of the society occurred over a period of 34 years. Instead, to our great disappointment merely confined to the changes in the religious beliefs and practices and "political outlook".

However, irrespective of the methodological, theoretical and ideological limitations, the chapter on change implicitly remarks that the external forces, by themselves, cannot bring any radical transformation in the socio-economic life of the people. This is indeed commendable. We may add here that the internal differentiation with multiple contradictions, class formation and conflicts can only bring qualitative changes in the system and not in simple borrowing of cultural traits.

MANU BHASKAR

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